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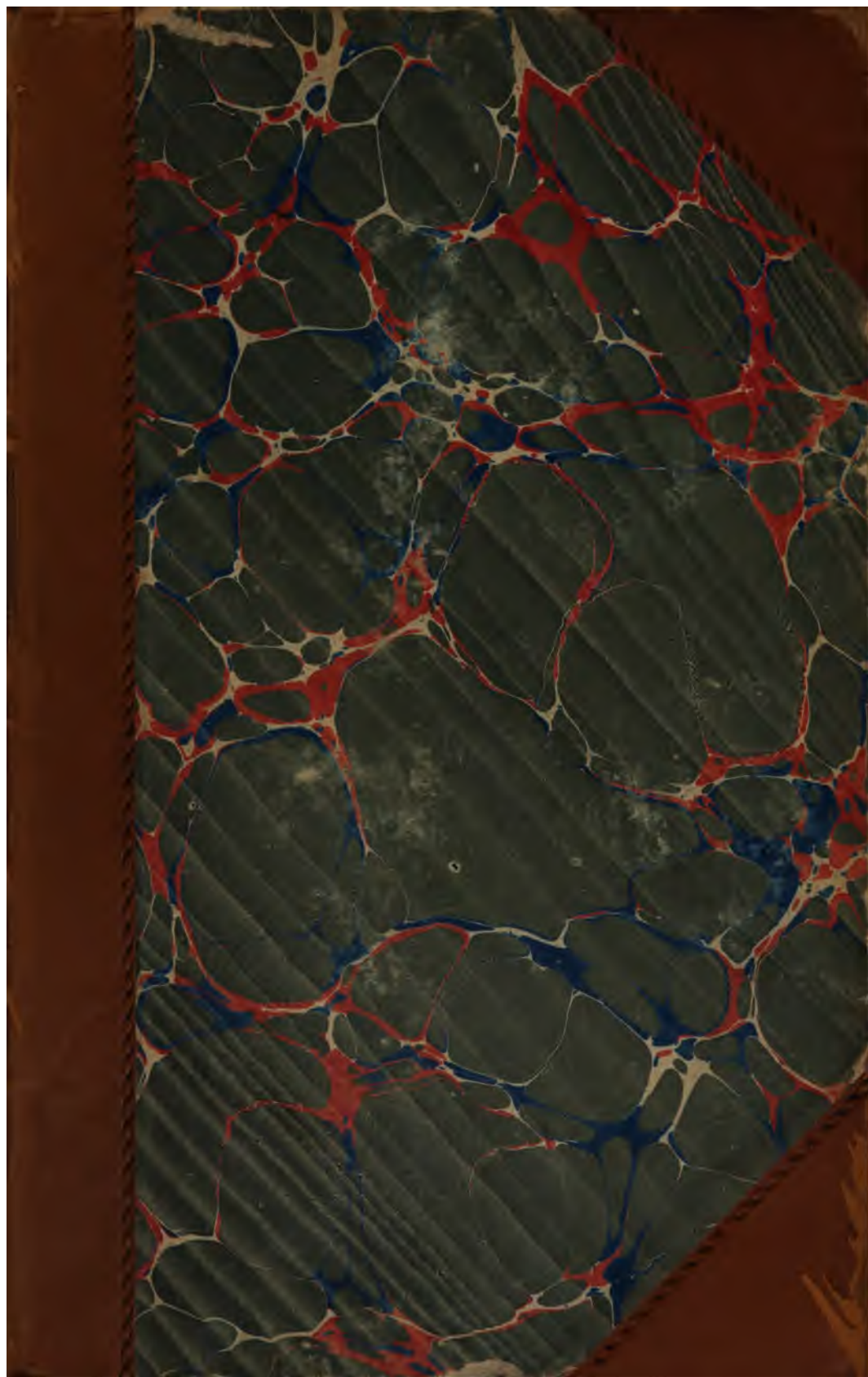
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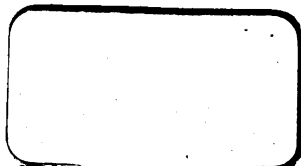
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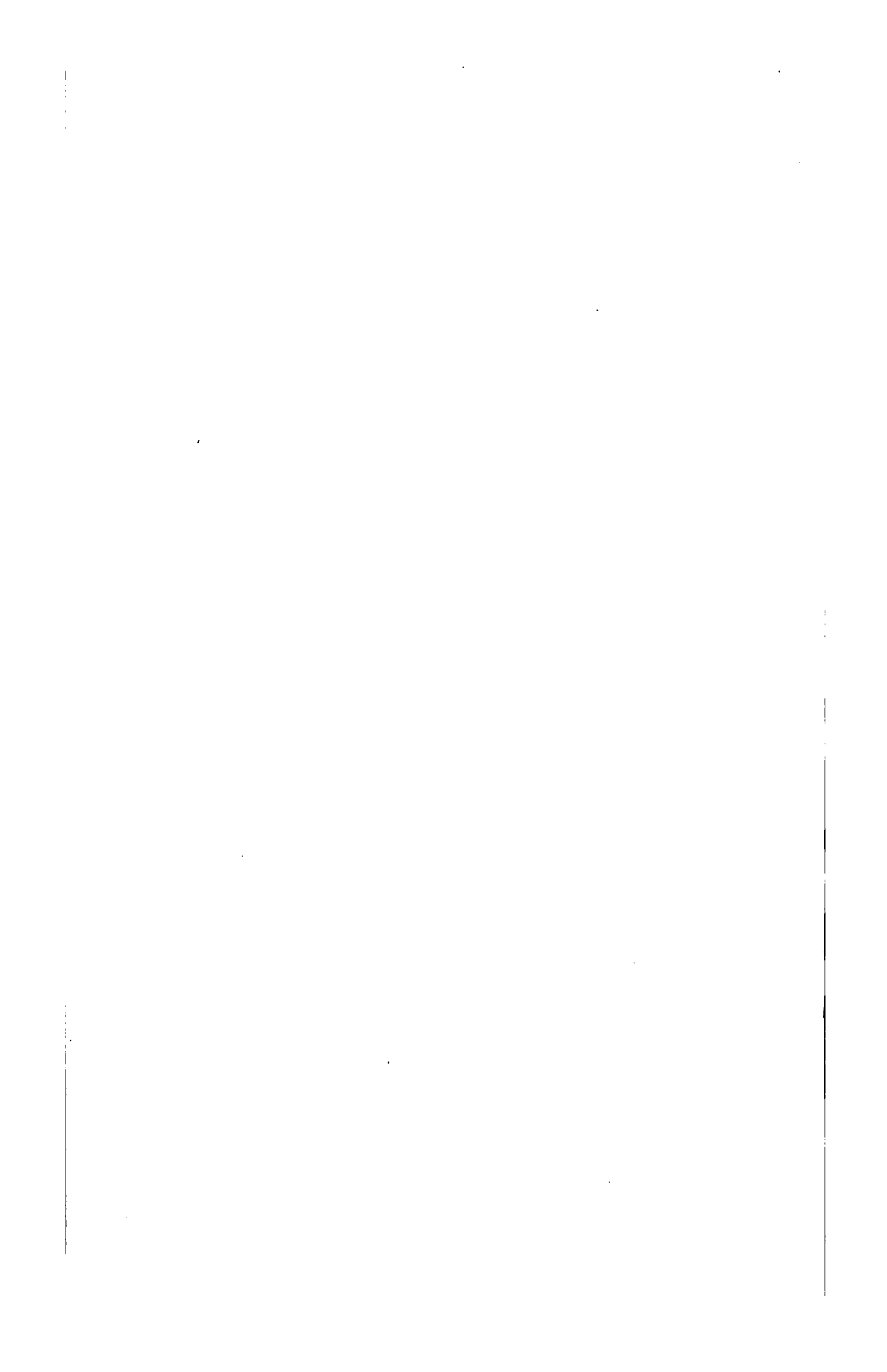




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CARTONENSIA:
OR,
AN HISTORICAL AND CRITICAL ACCOUNT
OF THE
TAPESTRIES,
IN THE
PALACE OF THE VATICAN,
&c. &c. &c.



2. 7. 1891
CARTONENSIA:

OR,

AN HISTORICAL AND CRITICAL ACCOUNT

OF THE

TAPESTRIES,

IN THE

PALACE OF THE VATICAN;

COPIED FROM THE DESIGNS OF RAPHAEL OF URBINO,
AND OF SUCH OF THE CARTOONS WHENCE THEY WERE WOVEN,
AS ARE NOW IN PRESERVATION.

WITH NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

To which are subjoined,

REMARKS ON THE CAUSES WHICH RETARD THE PROGRESS OF THE
HIGHER DEPARTMENTS OF THE ART OF PAINTING IN THIS
COUNTRY.

BY THE

REV. W. GUNN, B.D.

“Raphael Urbinas, exemplum naturæ donis prodigæ, corpore formosus,
“mente pulchrior, societate comis, penicillo admirandus, industriâ in-
“defessus, gloriâ perennis.”

(Comolli.)

21.

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P R E F A C E.

THE Tapestries announced in the title page, are but little known in this country, except from the Cartoons of seven of them which are preserved in the Palace of Hampton Court, and one of the three divisions of the Massacre of the Innocents, in the possession of Prince Hoare, Esq. These manifestations of Raphael's genius rank among the most distinguished efforts of the short-lived period of fine painting in Italy; and from the inspection of them, no attentive observer ever turned without deriving moral and intellectual improvement.

Among the numerous testimonies borne to their merit, I will confine myself to the opi-

nion of two judges of high consideration. Barry, in a letter from Rome, says, " They are amongst the first sober examples of the way of treating an interesting history, and are, beyond contradiction, superior to any thing here, and, in a just and proper combination of expression, all center upon some simple and obvious particular. I have not the least scruple in pronouncing the Cartoons the best of Raphael's works." And, in the same spirit, Lanzi thus expresses himself, on the Tapestries woven from them : " In questi Arazzi l'arte ha tocco il più alto segno, ne dopo essi ha veduto il mondo cosa ugualmente bella." (*Storia pittorica*, T. 1. P. 401.) In the attempt to introduce to more general notice these treasures of modern art, now gradually falling into decay, and in the hope of inciting the engraver to rescue the whole series from oblivion, I act in obedience to the dictates of reason and justice, and to the grateful impulse of a mind they have ever delighted.

A subject, so long and so successfully cultivated as that of the arts of design, whether we consider it with reference to ancient or to modern times, can possess but little novelty ; every discussion of it, therefore, must embrace such compilations as seem worth preserving. For these I am indebted to authors (and there are few I have not consulted) who have either expressly or incidentally written upon this topic ;—but, having had no intention of applying them to any public use, I omitted to note them ; nor is my memory at present sufficiently accurate to render to every one what, in this respect, he might justly claim as his own. I only pretend to give the result of enquiry in a condensed form ; yet, after all, in every view of the same subject, some novelty will be elicited, till the perceptions of any two minds shall be found in strict conformity with each other. In order to avoid exercising the patience of the reader, I have, I fear, limited myself to a brevity of expression, whence may occasionally arise an abruptness of transition in the style, injurious to the “*Series juncturaque*” of

historical composition. But, if details are shortened, the essentials, by which my purpose is answered, are, I trust, preserved.

The general motives which incite me to the undertaking are thus explained. As to those that are personal, I wish to be silent; for in the whole range of literature, Egotism is usually the least interesting part of composition. Practically, however, my feelings are in accordance with those of the great Roman Orator; "*Si habet aliquod tanquam pabulum studii et doctrinae, otiosa senectute nihil est jucundius.*"

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BIOGRAPHICAL MEMOIR
OF
RAPHAEL OF URBINO.

RAPHAEL, of the family of Sanzio, was born at Urbino, the capital of the Legation so denominated, in the year 1483. His ancestors were of consideration, and had, during a long period, filled respectable offices in that city. His father Giovanni, though designated in the "*Lettere Pittoriche*, as *molto virtuoso*," never arose even to professional mediocrity; an assertion authenticated by Baldinucci (*Vit. Raff.*) and testified by five of his pictures, which are still to be seen at Urbino. The rising talents of the young Sanzio were not unobserved by a father who, although he could contribute little to his advancement beyond initiation into the rudiments of his art, was desirous of affording him the means of superior instruction, by placing him, at the age of thirteen, under Pietro Perugino, then in his highest reputation. We must admit

that the figures of this master are stiff, and the draperies scanty, for which, however, he amply compensates by the grace of his heads, particularly those of youths and females. At the termination of an engagement for three years, Raphael associated himself with Bernardino Pinturicchio, who had been a pupil of the same Master, and went with him to Siena; where, under the protection of Cardinal Francesco Piccolomini, afterwards Pope Pius the Third, he assisted in embellishing the Cathedral, by painting in Fresco the history of Pius the Second. The sketches and Cartoons for this great undertaking were designed by the juvenile Raphael himself. (*Vasari. V. di Raff.*) The style of these compositions is that which is commonly understood to be his first manner. It is, nevertheless, fine, and possesses a degree of grandeur, the indication of future excellence; and there are connoisseurs who have undertaken to distinguish *his* touches, from those of his coadjutors. This work, much to the satisfaction of his patron and the public, was completed in the space of three years. He thence went to Florence, at that time the Athens of Italy; a change of residence which forms an important æra in his life. Here, at a time when the degrees of society were more accurately marked than they are at present, he was much noticed by people of rank,

and lived in friendship with men of letters and the most eminent artists.

From the habit of contemplating the ideas of great men, we acquire a state of mind, that will dispose us to receive *those* alone which partake of grandeur and simplicity.

As the antique may be deemed a second nature (1) to the young artist, Raphael became familiar with those specimens of ancient art, which were collected and deposited in the Gallery already founded by the munificent Cosmo (1434—1464) the father of a line of princes, whose name and age are almost synonymous with the restoration of learning; and in this school he was able to prosecute his studies with every advantage. Florence may be considered as the principal residence of Raphael, till the year 1508; when he was summoned to Rome by the reigning Pontiff, Julius the Second, who, on his arrival, honoured him with the most flattering distinction. We are now to consider him as placed in the Vatican, at a period and under circumstances calculated to render him the first painter in the world. Julius was succeeded in 1513 by Leo the Tenth, who, sensible of Raphael's distinguished merit, continued to him the patronage of his predecessor. In addition to his own peculiar pursuit, he applied himself to the study of Architecture under his

relation and fellow-citizen Bramante Lazzari; upon whose decease, which happened seven years after, he went to Rome, where he became first Architect to the Basilica of St. Peter, (2) an appointment justified by his talents. Soon after, by a brief of the same Pope, he was constituted Conservator of the Antiquities, and Superintendant of the embellishments of modern Rome—" *ut integram urbem architectorum oculis considerandam proponeret.*" (3)

In person, Raphael is thus described by Giovanni Pietro Bellori. " Fu dotato dal cielo di bellissima proporzione e sembianza accompagnata delle grazie sue nutrici dalle quali egli ritraeva se stesso; vestissi e si portò nobilmente nel esteriore, conforme l'uso del suo tempo e della corte." (*Descriz. delle imagin.: &c. da Raffaello, P. 249.*)

From the best accredited authorities we learn, that his moral qualities accorded with the endowments of his person. By the anonymous writer of his life he is styled "*di esemplarissima vita,*" (*Vasari. Proemio alla Vit. di Raff.*) He claims our admiration on account of the affection that he testified for his nearest relatives, (*Ibid, T. 5. P. 235.*) and we cannot but be gratified with the expressions of regard which he manifested towards his own family, and with the respect for his early Master which he pre-

served undiminished throughout life. When first employed in the Vatican, he was commanded to destroy many of the works of former artists, and to substitute his own; but ill could he obey this injunction when he came to those of Pietro Perugino. The Pope granted his petition, and they were spared. In a review of his compositions, we find that he frequently associated his own portrait with that of his master; so anxious was he that he should, as it were, partake in the fame of those talents which he had originally directed. Ever modest and unassuming, equally void of conceit, that child of ignorance, of jealousy, and of envy, (4) he was just to his competitors, and rejoiced that he lived at the same time with Michael Angelo. (5) Kind to his pupils, whom he carefully instructed, while he loved them as his friends; courteous to strangers, and to those who had recourse to him, he liberally imparted his drawings and designs wherever they could be of service, and frequently laid aside his own works to assist in those of others.

It is not to be supposed that all the performances assigned to Raphael while at Rome, were executed by himself. This, even to one so industrious as he was, is utterly impossible; some are, indeed, identified as his; but, to have made the designs, and to have given the superintendence

required, which we know he bestowed on the host of artists (6) who wrought under his direction, must have furnished ample employment for the twelve years he resided there; and it is to be feared that the bodily and mental fatigue he endured at that time, had a tendency to undermine a constitution too delicate for such unremitting exertions, (7) at a period when his works were daily testifying progressive improvement.

Barry, in his picture of Elysium, has introduced Sir Isaac Newton looking at the Solar system which an angel is uncovering to his view.

The Prince of Painters was giving us a glimpse of Paradise;—the prospect closed in his 37th year.

“ It was Leo’s fate to weep for Raphael!” (8)

At Rome his loss was regarded as a public calamity, and the most sumptuous funeral honours were assigned to his remains. (9) A more true and more lasting tribute was, however, to be found in the hearts of his disconsolate friends; and, as nothing can please many, and please long, but just representations of general nature, having outlived the period fixed as the test of merit, he assumes the dignity of an ancient, and claims the privilege of established fame and prescriptive veneration. Three hun-

dred years have now passed, and we are yet as much alive to the sympathy of his contemporaries as if his death were an event of yesterday. (10) We dwell with fondness and gratitude on the memory of him, who set before us the clearest views of pictorial excellence, and Christian purity that art has ever delineated; and the effusions of his genius seize upon the heart, without waiting for the slower consent of the understanding. Though, therefore, we admit, that where enthusiasm begins, reason ceases, yet in Raphael,—when from admiration and extasy

“ We wake, we find the vision true.”

NOTES.

(1) “ Il quale” (*Timante*), interrogato da Alessandro il Grande, cosa fosse la scultura, rispose, essere *una seconda natura.*” (*Diss. di Giuseppe Piacenza, Baldinucci Op. Tom. 6. P. 9.*)

Of Cosmo it may be truly said ;—“ Stirps quasi fataliter nata ad instauranda vel fovenda studia.” (*Tissius. Ad Germanos et Gallos, Epist. VIII.*) Before his time, indeed, a love of the arts was in decided progress in Tuscany ; and collections of antiques were forming long previously to the establishment of his gallery at Florence. In the Dominican Church of Sta. Maria Novella, a structure which so far excited the admiration of Michael Angelo, that he denominated it his spouse, and in the pictorial treasures of it which still remain, we trace a history of the art, from the date of its erection in the 13th, throughout the 15th century. Till the former period, the state of painting in Italy, (as at the commencement of the art in every country of the world,) was universally the same ; single figures were dry, cold, and meagre ; expression was but faintly recognised ; and, in the combination of many figures, unity of action was but little attended to. In 1225, the republic of Florence began to introduce Greek artists into its capital. Cimabue was one of their scholars, and, according to Dante, had the “ *Grido*” of his day ; from unprejudiced authorities, however, the alledged improvement introduced by these foreigners may admit of some abatement ; and we know from the notes on the Siena

edition of Vasari, 1794, to the time of Cimabue, where the question is discussed, that the characteristic defects above mentioned were not removed until a later period, when a purer stile of art was introduced. Andrea da Pisa (1270-1345) was the first who applied himself to copying from the antique, in the bas-relief of Meleager and Atalanta, which, with some others, the Pisans had brought from Greece. Lorenzo Ghiberti (1378-1455) possessed many casts from the antique, but had seen small subjects only, and not large statues. Francesco Squarcione, (1394-1474,) though not a Florentine, in his travels through Greece amassed a fine collection of ancient sculpture, from which his pupils, to the number of 137, formed their taste and their practice, which was disseminated throughout Italy. Painting kept pace with sculpture; yet, in the host of artists who flourished in the 15th century, the distinction was not mentally attended to: few there are whose painting rooms were "*hung round with thought*," except those of Tomaso, Masaccio, and Leonardo da Vinci.

(2) There is an elegant and characteristic letter extant, which he wrote to his friend Baldassar Castiglione on this occasion, in which he says, " Nostro Signore con l'onorarmi mi ha messo un gran peso sopra le spalle. Questo è la cura della Fabbrica di S. Pietro. Spero bene di non cadervici sotto; e tanto più, quanto il modello, ch'io ne ho fatto, piace a Sua Santità, ed' e lodato da molti belli ingegni; ma io mi levo col pensiero più alto. Vorrei trovar le belle forme degli edificj antichi; nè so, se il volo sarà d'Icaro. Me ne porge una gran luce Vitruvio, ma non tanto che basti." (*Lettere del Bald. Castigl. P. 172, &c.*) For Raphael's acquirements in this science, and the buildings over which he either presided,

or constructed, consult Baldenucci. (*Opere*, v. 6. p. 237 and 255.)

(3) An historical view of Rome, during the period of her gradual descent from the hills to the Campus Martius, and to the completion of the modern city, in the 15th and 16th centuries, is a desideratum in literature which would amply repay the labour it would require.

If the more abstruse and remote antiquities of Rome have been imperfectly investigated, we have equal reason to regret, that even those which are now obvious to every spectator, should be so superficially and unsatisfactorily described as they are by the generality of travellers who have thought proper to publish an account of their tours. Many reasons for this defect will occur to the reader; one is, the passion of saying something about every thing that presents itself to the eye; a task too great for any individual, without an intimate knowledge of its history and adjuncts: whereas, if they confined themselves to such particulars as they were acquainted with, the science would have a fairer chance of being advanced. This plan was adopted by the anonymous author of the "*Viaggiana*," a work to which I never refer without pleasure and information. Rome, as to ancient art, may be regarded as an interminable volume, the leaves of which are daily turning over, I will not say with what degree of interest and expectation, since the morrow may present an Apollo, or a Laocoon. Of the discoveries made within a few years, little, with us, is more than *nominally* known. The laying open the Forum of Trajan, the substructions of the Coliseum, of the Forum Romanum, the pedestal of the pillar of Phocas, with all the erudition and elucidation they have excited in Italy, would of themselves form a very important volume.

(4) “*Quare tantum abest ut cristas erigat, ut multo magis se omnibus obvium et familiarem ultrò reddat, nullius admonitionem aut colloquium refugians.*” (*Celso Calcagnini. Op. l. 7. P. 100 et seq.*)

(5) This great artist, who, of all others, might assume the highest pretensions to the efficacy of native genius and inspiration, did not conceive that perfection was to be acquired otherwise than by means of industry. In old age he was heard to exclaim, “*ancora imparo;*” and of Raphael he declared, “*che non ebbe quest’ arte da natura, ma per lungo studio.*”

(6) The magnet not only attracts, but communicates its power to objects within its polarity. Lanzi (*Stor. Pitt. T. 2. P. 40.*) has enumerated the artists who formed the school of Raphael, assigning to each his proper and relative degree of merit, and the works in which they were severally or jointly engaged: they are as follow—Giulio Romano, Gianfrancesco Penni, Luca Penni, Perino del Vaga, Giovanni da Udine, Polidoro da Caravaggio, Maturino di Firenze, Pellegrino da Modena, Bartolommeo Raminghi, Biagio Pupini, Vincenzio di S. Gimignano, Schizzone, Raffaellino dal Colle, Timoteo della Vita, Pietro della Vita, Crocchia di Urbino, il Garofolo, Gaudenzio Ferrari, Jacomine da Faenza, il Pistoja, Andrea da Salerno, Vincenzio Pagani, Bernardo Catelani, Marcantonio Raimondi, Scipione Sacco, Pietro da Bagnaja, Michele Coxis, Pier Campana, il Mosca, il Bacerra, &c. &c. To such perfection did they copy his works, that the portrait of Leo the Tenth, by Andrea del Sarto, was not recognized by Raphael as being merely a copy of his own original, when he surveyed it a few years afterwards. This treasure is said to be now at Holkham.

(7) After consulting various authorities, I believe the causes now assigned are the true ones; whether or not, as is probable, the fever under which he sunk resulted from these exertions, he was certainly unskilfully treated by his physicians.

(8) “ Si caro al Papa che la sua morte amaramente lo fece piangere.” (*Vasari. T. 5. P. 322.*)

(9) A tribute like the following was never more deservedly adjudged. “ Bene si compete il titolo di *Divino* con cui viene da ogni gente onorato. Che per la nobiltà, aggiustatezza della invenzione, per la castità del disegno, per la elegante naturalezza, pel fior dell' espressione, nessuno lo meritò al pari di lui, e per quella *indicabile grazia* sopra tutto, più bella ancora della bellezza istessa, con cui ha saputo condire ogni cosa.” (*Algarotti. saggio sopra la Pitt. op. T. 2. P. 227.*)

(10) “ Invida Mors claris non nocet ingeniis.”
(*Matteo Gribaldi.*)

HISTORICAL ACCOUNT

OF THE

CARTOONS.

THE art of painting was in its meridian at the time when Pope Leo the Tenth engaged Raphael to design a series of drawings from subjects taken out of the New Testament, for the purpose of being copied in tapestry. Vasari, to whom we owe this information, does not specify the number of them, nor the date of the undertaking; yet, from collateral evidence, we discover that it must have been within the two last years of Raphael's life, and, consistently with these testimonies, they evince all the force of genius, matured by experience. When the Cartoons were finished, they were sent into Flanders to be woven, under the superintendence of Bernard Van Orlay, of Brussels, (1) and Michael Coxis, (2) artists who had been for some years pupils of Raphael at Rome. They were executed with the utmost care, and cost

70,000 crowns; a sum, which is said to have been defrayed by Francis the First of France, in consideration of Leo's having canonized St. Francis of Paola, (in Calabria,) the founder of the Minims. In the sack of Rome, in 1526, they were carried away; but, in the reign of Julius the Third, were restored by Mareschal Anne, Duc de Montmorenci, as set forth in the woven borders of the tapestries Nos. 6 and 9. (3). They incurred a similar risk in 1798, when they made a part of the French spoiliations; but were restored to the Vatican by purchase, in the year 1814.

In all probability neither did Raphaël, nor his munificent patron, who survived him only one year, witness the completion of them.

The reign of Adrian the Sixth followed, which was limited to twenty-three months. He was a man "*alienissimo da ogni bell' arte*:" (4): an indifference, which may account for the Cartoons not accompanying the tapestries, when they were originally sent to Rome. An interval occurred, during which the latter are scarcely ever publicly mentioned. They were, however, again visible in the reign of Paul the Fourth, (1555-1559,) who was the first Pope that introduced the annual custom of suspending hangings before the Basilica of St. Peter, on the festival of Corpus Domini, (*Torrigi. Le sacre*

grotte vaticane, p. 142.) From the “ *Descrizione di Roma moderna*,” (1719,) we learn, that they were then kept in the Guardaroba of the Pope, but regularly brought out, to the admiration and delight of assembled crowds of people, and shewn, as above-mentioned. (5). They were also exhibited at the solemn “ function of *Beatification*,” or announcement that the Saint is enrolled in heaven: a ceremony which always precedes his canonization. This use of them was continued, when Wright travelled into Italy, in 1720. “ Within the Vatican palace,” he says, “ are kept the great Arras hangings, done after the Cartoons of Raphael, nineteen in number. They are exposed publicly for three days in one of the cloisters leading to St. Peter’s church, at the feast of Corpus Christi, when they make their grand procession. After this they are hung up in some of the apartments within the palace a *few days*, to be seen there; and then they are put up in their wardrobes, where they continue all the rest of the year.” As above stated, they made a part of the French spoliation in 1798. Since they were restored in 1814, the exhibition on the feast of Corpus Christi has been resumed; and, moreover, instead of the former limited display, they are now constantly open to public inspection in that apartment of the Vatican, which is called the apartment of

Pius the Fifth. Though Vasari does not specify the number of the tapestries which were ordered by Leo, yet we are furnished with *two lists*, on the accuracy of which we may rely. The first is of a date most likely coeval with their completion, and is detailed in the “ *Descrizione delle capelle, &c.*,” containing an account of the pontifical ceremonies of the Roman church, (*P. 2. C. 24. P. 286.*) in which they are stated to be twenty-five in number. The second list is taken from Carlo Fea, (*Descrizione di Roma e suoi contorni pubblicata da Angiolo Bonelli, (T. 1. P. 132. 1826.)*) in which their amount is numbered at twenty-two, a difference which will be explained.

The following account of the Cartoons existing in this country, is collected principally from Walpole’s *Anecdotes*. In these we are told, that, after the tapestries were woven and sent to Rome, the Cartoons apparently remained neglected in the store rooms of the manufactory; and the revolution, which happened soon after in the low countries, rendered that period unfavourable to the cultivation of the arts. Seven of them, however, escaped the wreck, and were, on the recommendation of Rubens, purchased by our Charles the First. They were found to be much injured, holes were pricked in them for the weavers to pounce the outlines, and in other parts they were almost cut through by tracing.

In this condition, and for this cause perhaps, though they were disproportionately valued at only £300., they escaped being sold amongst the Royal collection in 1649.

“ It may appear remarkable that these, the
 “ most capital designs in the world, should be
 “ appraised at only £300., when the Nine
 “ Pieces, representing the triumphs of Julius
 “ Cæsar, done by Andrea da Mantegna, were
 “ valued at £1000.; and a Madonna by Raphael,
 “ was sold for £2000. But, when we are in-
 “ formed that they were bought by his High-
 “ ness (Cromwell), who, as soon as he was
 “ possessed of the sole power, stopped any
 “ further dispersion of the Royal collection;
 “ and who, even in this trifling instance, gave
 “ an indication of his views, it will not seem
 “ extraordinary that so powerful a person should
 “ be favoured in the valuation of them.”

Soon after their arrival in this country, drawings from them were made by Cleen, with the date added to each. These were carefully pasted on linen, and were found in the same bureau (7) at Kensington Palace with Holbein's portraits, (since engraved by Bartolozzi) and other valuable drawings: Cleen's copies are drawn with a pen, are highly finished, and are on a much larger scale than those afterwards engraved by Dorigny; and the characters of the

heads are better imitated. The largest, that of the Apostles at Lystra, measures 3 feet $9\frac{1}{2}$ in. long, by 2 feet $3\frac{3}{4}$ in. broad. Under that of Ananias is written, "Raphaeld'Urbino. T. Cleen "fec. Anno 1646;" at the bottom of the Charge to Peter is written, "18 July 1640." In that of Elymas, on the pedestal, under St. Paul, "Incepi, Mai 4. 1645."

The art of weaving tapestry (8) was brought into England by William Sheldon, Esq. about the end of Henry the Eighth's reign. In that of James the First, a manufactory of it was established at Mortlake in Surrey, where Sir Francis Crane built a house for that purpose; and Walpole (*Vol. 2. P. 35.*) gives a detail of some of the more important hangings which were completed in this factory. (9) Cleen, who had the advantage of having studied four years at Rome, assisted in bringing these works to perfection.

It appears, by the sale catalogue of Charles's collection of paintings and drawings, that "*five of the Cartoons*" were sent to Mortlake to be copied by Cleen in tapestry; and that he had a pension during life for his services. The *whole seven* were, most likely, woven there; for, in a prized catalogue of his Majesty's collection of "*Limnings*," edited by Vertue, in *No. 2. P. 166*. I find the following entry: "Item, in a slit

box-wooden case, some TWO CARTOONS of Raphael Urbinus for hangings to be made by, and the other FIVE are by the King's appointment delivered to Mr. Francis Cleen at Mortlake, to make hangings by."

From the information conveyed in the quotation from a very respectable publication, we may conceive that the *whole seven*, and many others of the same fabrick, are possibly still in existence, concealed in some of our Royal and other palaces, in this country. Having heard that the *Prince of Wales' drawing room in Hampton Court* is hung with tapestry, representing Elymas the Sorcerer struck with Blindness, (*Dodsley's London, and its Environs, Vol. 3. P. 113.*) I was thence induced to make a visit thither, purposely to enquire after this hanging, and found it, as above referred to, in an apartment not usually shewn to strangers. It is in good preservation, is about 13 feet long, including a border of 2 feet 3 inches wide, on which are wrought, in small medallions of various forms, scripture subjects, which are united by infantine figures, and wreaths of flowers. The keeper of the apartments told me that there was a vast quantity of tapestry kept rolled up in store rooms in the palace. (10) From a passage above quoted, it appears that the whole seven Cartoons were copied

in tapestry at Mortlake; and, if so, *that they may still be found in a neglected and forgotten state, as now described.* (11) After the time of the Mortlake tapestries, (12) we hear no more of the seven Cartoons in this country, nor were they more valued than they had been in Flanders, after they were copied, nor do we know that more care was bestowed upon them, for they were carelessly packed up, and, when opened, were found in a wretched condition. This was not till the reign of King William, who ordered William Cooke to repair *them*, as well as the other pictures in the Royal collection. Cooke was an artist of celebrity, and was thought to have some talent for history. He was competent to this engagement, having studied many years in Italy. Graham says, "he copied the Cartoons in turpentine oil, in the manner of distemper, a way which he invented."

King William built the Gallery at Hampton Court for their reception, where they remained till the year 1764, when they were removed to the Queen's Palace. There they continued till 1787, and were then taken to Windsor, but were restored to Hampton Court in 1814.

We are assured, that when the tapestries were originally received at Rome, "they excited general admiration, and could not therefore fail to

engage the industry and ingenuity of artists in copying them." There were, we know, at that time, many painters of such distinguished merit, that their imitations would be little inferior to the originals. Few of these are at present known; but I reckon among them two, which belong to Mr. Brown, of the Alpha Road, and which possess the great characteristics of Raphael's paintings;—somewhat differing, however, in certain points of execution, having a stronger outline, and a greater body of colouring. One is the Elymas; (13) the other, the Healing of the Cripple. The paper doublings on which they are painted, are prepared as directed by Vasari (*T. 1. C. 16.*) that is, by scraps pasted together, as if the sweepings of a painting room; and these, accordingly, have fragments of limbs and features upon them. Mr. Brown, in giving their history, tells me " they once belonged to Sir Joshua Reynolds, who, he thinks, received or brought them from the Continent: that, after his decease, they were given to his trusty assistant Giuseppe Marchi, by the Marchioness of Thomond, who had then employed him in arranging the stores of her uncle; but that from his hands they passed into those of Deblaney, the picture dealer, from whom he (Mr. Brown) purchased them. They were then much injured by neglect,

“ but are now satisfactorily restored, and must
 “ be regarded as treasures of high considera-
 “ tion.” Mr. Northcote, the friend and bio-
 grapher of Sir Joshua, informs me, that Giu-
 seppe Marchi was introduced into this country
 from Italy by Sir Joshua when young, and em-
 ployed in painting the back grounds of his pic-
 tures: that he remained with him, proved a
 respectable man, and was, throughout life, much
 valued by his patron. Mr. Northcote farther
 says, that Sir Joshua’s collection of sketches and
 drawings was immense, and many among them
 were, as he knew, forgotten by him, as may
 have been the case with the Cartoons now be-
 longing to Mr. Brown; that it was always
 his intention to arrange and class these trea-
 sures; but this was never done during his life.

“ Respecting oil copies made in this country,
 “ we may notice, that, by favour of that general
 “ Mecænas, the Earl of Halifax, Sir James
 “ Thornhill was allowed to copy the Cartoons,
 “ on which he employed three years. He also
 “ executed a smaller set, of one-fourth the pro-
 “ portions of the originals. (14) Having been
 “ very accurate in marking the defects, and the
 “ additions by Cooke, who repaired them, and
 “ in examining the parts turned in to fit them
 “ to the places; and having made frequent stu-
 “ dies of the heads, hands, and feet, he intended

* to publish an exact account of the whole, for the use of students, but this work has never appeared." The Thornhill copies are now in the great Room of the Royal Academy, presented to the Members of that body in 1800, by Francis late Duke of Bedford. Another copy, in possession of the present Duke of Marlborough, was given by His Grace to the University of Oxford, and is kept in the Picture Gallery there." (*Annals of the Arts*, V. 1. P. 123.)

Though many of these tapestries have been engraved, (15) the whole collection (as enumerated in a future page) has never engaged the talents of any one artist, with the exception of Louis Sommerau; and this work is now difficult to be obtained. While we admire the attempt, it must be confessed that the merit of it consists in minute, we might perhaps say, almost mechanical exactness; and presents that stiffness and harshness which weaving is capable only of imitating without the graceful ease of the painter's pencil.

As to engraved copies *in this country*, the favour of the public was, early in the last century, solicited by two contemporary artists. The first was Simon Gribelin, whose success, arising from the novelty of the undertaking, was at first considerable; but it was not lasting, as his engravings were judged too minute, nor did they evince either greatness of manner or capacity.

Far superior to him was Sir Nicholas Dorigny, a native of France, and a son of Michael Dorigny, by a daughter of Vouet the painter. He was brought up to the study of the law, in which he persevered till he was about 30 years of age; when, by the advice of a brother, who was a painter at Rome, he determined to embrace the same profession, and gave himself up for a year to the study of drawing. Repairing to Rome, he followed painting for some years; when, having acquired great freedom of hand, he was advised to try etching, which he long pursued, and afterwards applied himself to engraving. Among other works of art, he familiarized himself with those of Raphael, and undertook to engrave the Cupid and Psyche in the Gallery of the Casino Farnese, which he completed in several plates. He then proceeded to the Transfiguration, his success in the handling of which raised his reputation above all the Masters of the day. Becoming acquainted with some English travellers of rank, they persuaded him, prepared as he was for the undertaking, and prepossessed as the public were in his favour by his late successes, to come to England and engrave the Cartoons. He arrived in London in June 1711, and began his drawings the Easter following, Her Majesty the Queen assigning him an apartment in Hampton Court Palace,

with necessary perquisites. He engaged Charles Dupuis and Claude Dubosc to assist him ; but they left their employer before the plates were half done. In April 1719, he presented the first two complete sets to George the First, and from His Majesty received the honour of knighthood. About the year 1723, Dorigny's numerous collection of drawings was sold ; and, among these, were 104 fragments, chiefly of hands and feet, from other Cartoons of Raphael. These together realized only £74., separately, afterwards, £104. That the merit of the Cartoons was now beginning to be publicly felt, is evident ; the speculation of Dorigny was encouraged, and his labours eulogized by Sir Richard Steele, in one of the most dignified advertisements ever penned. (*Spectator*, No. 226.) Engravings of them being now in request with printsellers, a set was executed by Dubosc himself, which have considerable merit ; the size of them is between those of Dorigny and Gribelin. But the more accurate knowledge and diffusion of them was reserved for the exertions of the " virtuous and temperate Jonathan Richardson." Walpole, speaking of him and his works, says, " such a picture of a good mind, serene in " conscious innocence, is scarcely to be found. " It is impossible not to love the author, or " not wish to be as sincerely and intentionally

“virtuous.” He was full of theory and profound reflections on his art; nor did any one ever penetrate deeper into the inexhaustible stores of the mind of Raphael. His literary works, (16) too, are full of matter, of good sense, and of instruction, expressed in language both interesting and simple. Till his time, it was little known that there were more than seven Cartoons in existence. But, in an important note attached to the Siena edition of Vasari’s Life of Raphael, twelve are enumerated; the additional five being, *The Adoration of the Magi*, *The Descent of the Holy Ghost*, *The Supper at Emmaus*, *The Massacre of the Innocents*, and *The Ascension*. Two of these are said to be in the possession of the King of Sardinia, and one, viz. the Massacre of the Innocents, was brought to England, and destroyed. The note proceeds: “Towards the conclusion of the seventeenth century were brought out of Flanders into England, certain pieces of the five last Cartoons, and early in the eighteenth century was imported from Holland a considerable portion (*una parte molto notabile*) of the Massacre of the Innocents; but, being miserably discoloured by oil, it was thought to be a copy only. A considerable part of the above, not less than fifty pieces, consisting chiefly of heads, hands, and feet, (but deemed

“ not inferior to any at Hampton Court,) fell
 “ into the possession of the elder Richardson.
 “ He died 1745, at the advanced age of eighty.
 “ A great part of his collection of drawings was
 “ sold in 1752; and so numerous were they
 “ as to require an auction of eighteen days.”

The remainder of Richardson's collection, together with that of his son, was sold in the year 1771, after the decease of the latter. From an opportunity I have had of examining a prized catalogue of this sale, I, however, find only three lots in which there is any thing that relates to the Cartoons before us. The supply from these twosales may account for the fragments dispersed in collections throughout this country, (17) particularly those in the Guise Gallery, Christ Church, Oxford. Part of this collection came again to the hammer in the Duke of Argyle's sale at Langford's, 1779, when Mr. Flaxman bought two pieces, one a single head, (18) said to have belonged to the *Massacre* (19) *of the Innocents*; but, though I believe it to be a genuine Raphael, it is not to be therein identified. (20) The other represents the heads of two suffering mothers, of agonizing expression, from the same composition, and are to be recognised about the middle of Marc Antonio's plate, before the subject was divided. These are engraved by Sommerau, in his third

plate. This division of the Massacre of the Innocents, is in itself a circumstance worthy of mention, and it was perhaps chosen for division, as the only subject that admitted of it. Marc Antonio engraved it twice, with some variation from what it was originally; and the Cartoon from which he copied it was once in the hands of Cardinal D'Este. I cannot, however, discover that it ever was woven in tapestry as a whole subject. It is to be inferred, both from Vasari and from Baldinucci, that this division was made under the eye of Raphael himself, who did not survive the return of the tapestries from Flanders. The separation into three was therefore early; and so much skill is evinced in the arrangement of the figures as to induce the belief that it was done by the great artist himself.

About the middle of the last century, Mr. Richard Dalton solicited the patronage of the public to this effect. “ That as the seven
 “ Cartoons of Raphael, at Hampton Court,
 “ have been universally admired, and Dorigny’s
 “ engravings from them much sought after, he
 “ imagines, that if leave were granted him to
 “ make drawings from the tapestries in the
 “ Vatican also, which were worked after twelve
 “ other Cartoons of Raphael, now lost, it would
 “ be a performance not unacceptable to the

“ public.” He accordingly undertook a journey to Rome for this purpose ; where, by the singular favour and protection of Cardinal Valenti, Secretary of State, he obtained permission to have the tapestries hung up in an apartment of the Vatican for as long a time as he desired, for the purpose of executing his intended work ; and having spared neither time, nor labour, nor expense, in completing the drawings, he proposed to publish a set of prints from them. But as such an undertaking must be attended with a very great expense, he solicited the encouragement of a subscription. The work was to consist of twelve prints, such being the number of Cartoons from which the tapestries are taken. The price to subscribers, £4. 4s. The subjects of the twelve drawings are:—

1. The Nativity, or Adoration of the Shepherds.
2. The Adoration of the Wise Men.
3. Christ Presented in the Temple.
- 4, 5, and 6. The Slaughter of the Innocents, in three plates.
7. The Resurrection of Christ.
8. The Disciples at Emmaus.
9. The Ascension.
10. The Descent of the Holy Ghost.
11. The Stoning of St. Stephen.
12. The Conversion of St. Paul.

He farther signified that some of these were *already executed*; that he etched the figures himself; and engaged, as his constant assistant in the work, an ingenious young man, who studied under him in this country before his last journey to Rome, whither he carried him for his improvement, and to qualify him to assist in this difficult work. That, on the landscape part, he occasionally employed Vivarez, Mason, and others; and in architecture, those who excelled in that branch of engraving; and that he constantly superintended the whole himself with unwearied diligence.—(*Remarks on the twelve historical designs of Raphael, and the Musæum Græcum et Ægypticum on Antiquities of Greece and Egypt; illustrated by prints, intended to be published from Mr. Dalton's drawings. London, 1752.*) It appears from this extract, that some of these designs were finished; but, from a public apology made a few years after, we learn that the plan was abandoned.—(*Remarks on Prints intended to have been published, &c. &c., by Richard Dalton, Vo. 1. Elmsly, 1781.*) In this pamphlet he gives an account of the causes which conspired to prevent the completion of the undertaking.

In the year 1824, there was a public exhibition in Pall Mall of nine pieces of tapestry, “taken from the Cartoons of Raphael.” The

two, in addition to the seven at Hampton, were the Conversion of St. Paul, and the Stoning of St. Stephen. The following is an extract from the printed account of them, as sold in the Exhibition Room.

“ As soon as the Cartoons were finished, they were sent to Brussels, and the best workmen employed in the manufactory of tapestry, of which two sets only of the *first class* were woven. These were disposed of as follows; the one was sent to Rome, and the other to London. The first was hung up in the apartments of the Vatican, and was exposed to public view only on the day of the great feast of Corpus Christi; but in the year 1798, when the French army entered Rome, it disappeared from the Vatican, and was sometime afterwards discovered in the hands of a Jew in *Paris*, who had already partly burnt two of the pieces, for the purpose of extracting the gold and silver contained in the texture. Fortunately, however, the circumstance became known, and they were rescued from the flames by the late Pope, who ordered them to be purchased, and conveyed back to Rome, where they again occupy their former station in the Palace of the Vatican.” This detail is not correct. When taken by the French from Rome, among other spoliations, they were sold to a Jew at Leghorn, for the sake of ex-

tracting the precious metal they contained; but, on burning one of them, it was found to furnish very little. The rest were re-purchased by Devaux for 1,300 crowns, and given back to Pius the Seventh in 1814. That which was destroyed, represented Christ's Descent into Limbus. This is engraved by Sommerau, and is the only one now wanting; a proof that no other perished, as above mentioned.

The relation proceeds in this manner:—
 “The other set, which was sent to London, and is now exhibited, was a present made by Pope Leo the Tenth to Henry the Eighth, and it was hung up by that Monarch in the Banqueting House at Whitehall.” Another account says, that Henry the Eighth purchased it of the State of Venice, and the story is given on the authority of Peachem, as follows:—

“The fame of Rafaello di Urbino at this time, 1518, was so great, that he was sought for, and employed by many of the Princes in Europe. Those stately hangings of Arras, containing the history of St. Paul, out of the Acts of the Apostles, than which eye never beheld more absolute art, and which, long since, you might have seen in the Banqueting House at Whitehall, were wholly his invention, bought (if I be not deceived) by Henry the Eighth of the State of Venice.”—(*Complete Gentleman*,

P. 137.) It, however, appears, that this tapestry came over to this country in the reign of Henry the Eighth, and from him it descended, through Edward the Sixth, to Mary, Elizabeth, James the First, and Charles the First; and, after the tragical death of this Monarch, formed part of the royal collection put up for sale; and was purchased, with many other valuable articles and paintings, by the Spanish Ambassador in London, (Don Alonso de Cardanas); and, when this Nobleman died, it devolved to the House of Alva.(21) The tapestry was, of course, inherited by the Dukes of that name, and continued in their possession until sold by the present Duke to Mr. Tupper, and by him sent back to this country.

Some further information, relative to this collection, is extracted from a periodical publication. “ The Royal Tapestries, made for our
 “ Eighth Harry, from Raphael’s immortal Car-
 “ toons, and lost to this country at the dis-
 “ persion of the collection of Charles the First,
 “ have, within these few weeks, been restored
 “ to us. They were obtained by *Mr. Tupper*,
 “ our Consul in Spain, from a palace of the
 “ Duke of Alva’s, and are now to be seen in
 “ Mr. Bullock’s Egyptian Hall. What adds to
 “ the value of this acquisition is, that there are
 “ *two subjects* more than are to be found at

“ Hampton Court; viz. The Conversion of St. Paul, and Christ giving the Keys to St. Peter. The whole are strikingly curious.” (*The Literary Gazette for November 13, 1824.*)

There is a mistake in the last statement of this paragraph. Christ giving the Keys to St. Peter, is among the Cartoons at Hampton Court; the new one is the Stoning of St. Stephen. These tapestries, after having been publicly exhibited for several months, are said to have been purchased by a foreigner, and to have been taken to the Continent.

Nearly a century had elapsed since the time of Dorigny, during which no English artist was incited to repeat his labours on the Cartoons of Raphael, when Mr. Roscoe made the following announcement to the public.

“ Let not the British artist, who is smitten with the love of his profession, and who owns the influence of genius, fail to pay his frequent devotion at this shrine. We now touch the confines of the *highest state of the art* of that period, when the powers of Raphael, who, undoubtedly, united in himself all the great requisites of a perfect painter, in a higher degree than any other individual, were exerted in their full extent. Mr. Holloway, an eminent English artist, is now employed in engraving the Cartoons on a large scale; and,

from the specimens which the public have already had of his abilities, there is reason to expect that they will be executed in a superior style." (22)—(*Life of Leo the Tenth*, V. 4. C. 22. P. 353.)"

From alleged inequality of execution in these tapestries, a question had arisen, (principally among the transalpine critics,) whether they were the genuine production of Raphael's hand, or, in part, those of his scholars, after his decease. Now, in every great and miscellaneous undertaking, there may be gradations of merit, all not being equally calculated to display the powers of genius. Christ appearing to Mary Magdalen in the Garden, and the Emmaus, are among those cited as examples of inferiority. But so jealous have the Italians always been of the reputation of their modern Apelles, that they would naturally be backward in assigning to him what they thought unworthy of him. Besides, at the time when these tapestries were first publicly exhibited, many of his contemporaries must have been among the spectators, and they would not have endured that counterfeits should be regarded as originals, nor would the artists employed by them have ventured to engrave them as such. After all, tapestry is not the happiest material for imitating, much less for perpetuating the higher

departments of painting, (23) composition, perhaps, only excepted. Drawing, imitated in tapestry, must, eventually, present defective outlines, since the mixed threads of silk and linen, woven together, will not wear uniformly. Some will stretch, others will contract, nor will they long harmonize with the precious metals with which they are intermixed. The colouring of the draperies, at first adapted to the hue of the manufacture which they were intended to imitate, will also fade unequally. Expression and delicacy in the tapestries are so far lessened, that we cannot estimate their general merit, unless by mental reference to those inexhaustible sources of study happily remaining in this country. “Hampton Court
 “is the great school of Raphael; and, God be
 “praised, that we have so near such an in-
 “valuable blessing. May the Cartoons con-
 “tinue in that place, and always be seen
 “unhurt and undecayed, so long as the nature
 “of the materials of which they are composed
 “will possibly allow. May even a miracle be
 “wrought in their favour, as themselves are
 “some of the greatest instances of the divine
 “power, which endued a mortal man with
 “abilities to perform such stupendous works
 “of art.”—(*Richardson.*)

NOTES.

(1) He was born 1490, and went to Rome when he was very young; he soon after obtained the patronage of Raphael, and was, for many years afterwards, the principal painter to the Emperor, Charles the Fifth.

(2) By the Italians, called Michele Coxis, and was a native of Malines. His proficiency must be allowed from his having been much employed at Rome, particularly in painting a Resurrection in the old Basilica of St. Peter. (*Baldinucci, T. 7. P. 245.*) Some of his works are still to be seen in the Church of "Sta. Maria dell' Anima," at Rome.

(3) "Urbe captâ partem aulæorum a prædonibus distractorum conestabilis Anna Monmorancius Galliæ militum Præfectus restaurandam atque Julio III. P. M. restituendam curavit."

Some of them have lateral pilasters, covered with small graceful figures and emblems; others have a basement border, imitative of bas-reliefs in chiaro scuro, representing the historical parts of the life of Leo the Tenth; the latter have been engraved by Bellori.

(4) He died unregretted and unlamented by the artists indeed although he was a man of exemplary life; and the *Christiad* was completed at his suggestion. But it too often happens that he who lives in an age unsuited to the

virtues he possesses, is more depreciated than he who conforms to the vices of the times.

(5) Si espongono nel gran portico di St. Pietro una volta l' anno per la processione del corpus Domini; ed è mirabil cosa vedere anche il volgo osservar quelle storie e tornare e osservarle con un' avidità, e con un diletto sempre nuovo. (*Lanzi, Stor. pittor. T. 2. P. 67.*)

(6) Innocent the Third, in the Bull for the canonization of the Empress Cunegond, declares it was reserved for himself " ed ai Romani Pontefici l' autorità, non solo di canonizare, ma di Beatificare puranchè." (*Tosi, C. 24. P. 159.*)

(7) How these came there is quite unknown. They did belong to Charles the First, who exchanged them with William, Earl of Pembroke, for a St. George by Raphael, now at Paris. Lord Pembroke gave them to the Earl of Arundel; and at the dispersion of that collection, they were, perhaps, bought by, or for the King. There are 89 of them. (*Walpole, V. 1. T. 131.*)

(8) This art has been common to civilized nations from remote antiquity. Muratori, in his 25th dissertation (*Dell' Arte del Tessere e delle vesti de' secoli rozzi*) and Ciampini (*Vet. Monum. S. 1. C. 13. P. 91.*) have brought together curious records of its existence, and its progress during the middle ages.

(9) The Elymas, kept in Chester Cathedral, was, perhaps, made in this country; but, after diligent enquiry as to the history of it, the result is imperfect. My informant says, " no one knows whence it came, or where it was woven;

it is, however, supposed to be foreign, and has the appearance of being woven, and then sown together. The dimensions of that part now visible, are 16 feet by 11; it has a border of fruits and flowers, but that is not now seen; it can be said to be only in a tolerable state of preservation; there is no record in any of the writings belonging to the Cathedral concerning it."

(10) He also said there was immensely more in that of St. James's. Does not this point deserve to be investigated? and ought it not to lead to an examination of the neglected tapestries in many of our old noble mansions? The quantity of this manufacture once employed, when winter apartments were lined with it, is almost incredible. Perhaps the greatest extension of it ever completed for one mansion, was at *la Savonnerie*, for the gallery of the Louvre; it consists of 72 pieces, forming, together, a length of more than 1300 feet.

(11) An occurrence, similar to that now mentioned, took place, a few years ago, in Germany. "It had long been a matter of curiosity among amateurs of the works of Raphael, to know what had become of the tapestries which were wrought at Arras, from the celebrated designs of that great Master, known by the name of Cartoons, which were painted in distemper by order of Leo the Tenth. Six of these were discovered at Dresden. A few years ago, in consequence of the Cardinal Albani having expressed his opinion to the painter Casanova, that they must exist somewhere or other about that court, *as, from documents which existed at Rome*, it appeared that Leo the Tenth had made a present of seven of these tapestries out of twenty-two, which had been wrought at Arras, to the Elector of Saxony; in consequence of these suggestions, which Casanova stated

in his public lectures, given at Dresden in 1814, the **Baron de Raknitz**, Grand Mareschal of the Court, caused research to be made after these tapestries; and they were *discovered, rolled up, in one of the garrets of the palace*. Since that period, they have been cleaned with much care, and are now nearly as fresh and fine as when they were first wrought: the seventh of the set, after the design painted by Raphael himself, could not be discovered; and the other fifteen, which had been executed after designs of the scholars of Raphael, it would appear had been presented by Leo to the other courts, five of which were sent to Vienna." (*Buchanan's Memoirs of Painting, Appendix A.*) I look upon the suggestion "that fifteen were by scholars, not by Raphael himself," as an error arising from the prepossession, that only seven are genuine productions: the contrary is, in part, ascertained, whence we may infer the same of the others also.

(12) It is not irrelevant to enquire as to the sequel of this Manufactory, the rooms for which were of considerable magnitude. "During the civil wars, the tapestry premises were seized as the property of the crown. In the survey taken by order of Parliament, the tapestry-house is described as containing one room 82 feet in length, and 20 in breadth, with 12 looms; another about half as long, with 6 looms; and a great room, called the limning room. After the restoration, Charles the Second intended to revive the manufacture, and sent Verrio to sketch the designs; but his intention was never carried into execution." (*Lysons's Environs of London—Mortlake.*)

(13) This measures 15 feet by 11; the inscription, "Sergius Paulus," &c. is *reversed*; the other is 18 feet by 11. The figure of St. Peter, is 7 feet 5 inches high.

(14) He was indefatigable in regard to Raphael, and made copies and studies from Raphael's heads, hands, and feet, and intended to publish an exact account of the whole, for the use of students; but his work never appeared. His collections were put up to auction the year after his decease, in 1735. The larger set of the Cartoons was sold for only £200.; a price, which we ought in justice to suppose, was owing to the few bidders who had spaces in their houses large enough to receive them. The *smaller* for 75 Guineas. (*Walpole, V. 4. P. 47.*) Where the latter are now preserved, I have yet to learn.

(15) Michele Sorello, (born in Spain, 1615, and who established himself at Rome, 1650, where he learnt the principles of engraving from J. Frey, and was successful in imitating the manner of his Master,) is said to have undertaken the whole series; but I am not able to discover that he ever executed more than the following:—1. *The Nativity*—2. *the Purification of the Virgin*—3. *St. Peter receiving the Keys*—4. *Christ in Limbo*—5. *the Resurrection*—6. *the Disciples at Emmaus*—7. *Noli me tangere*—8. *the Conversion of St. Paul*.

(16) These are an essay on the whole art of criticism, as it relates to painting, Oct. 1715. “An Argument in behalf of the Science of a Connoisseur.” In 1722, came forth an account of some of the statues, bas-reliefs, drawings, and pictures in Italy, &c., with remarks by Mr. Richardson, Senior and Junior. The son made the journey; and from his notes, letters, and observations, they both, at his return, compiled this valuable work, which was soon compressed into one octavo volume.

(17)

First Day's Sale.

No. 51. The Head of a Shepherd adoring, in the Cartoon of the Nativity. This is identified in the Shepherd on the left hand side of the Stable, in Sommerau's engraving. Money, £5. 5s.

No. 52. The Head of the Murderer, in the Cartoon of the Innocents. Pocklington. £5. 10s.

Second Day's Sale.

No. 53. The Heads of two Mothers, in the Slaughter of the Innocents. Price £3. 10s.

No. 54. Rachel weeping over her Children; a capital Head in ditto. Dr. Stark, £10. 16s. This wonderfully fine group of a disconsolate mother, with her infant across her lap, is in Sommerau, No. 5.

The idea of this composition is taken from the figure of the weeping province of inimitable beauty, on the pedestal of the colossal *Roma triumphans* in the Capitol. It has been copied by Pichler, on a gem; and is well known to the admirers of fine cameos.

(18) I have no means of tracing the following relation to any other source, than "*Dodsley's London, and its Environs*," V. 3. P. 160. After describing the seven Cartoons at Hampton Court he says, "There were, in all, twelve of these pieces, two of which are in the possession of the French King; the King of Sardinia has two of the others; and one belonged to a gentleman in England, who pledged it for a sum of money; but when the person who had taken this valuable deposit, found it was to be redeemed, being very unwilling to part with it, he greatly damaged the drawing, for which the gentleman brought an action against him; and it was tried in *Westminster Hall*, where

the picture was produced. The subject was Herod's Cruelty; and, indeed, the cruel malice of the person sued seemed to flow from a principle equally diabolical and inexcusable."

(19) This was presented by Mr. Flaxman, to his early friend, the late Mr. Saunders, of Bath, and measures $19\frac{1}{2}$ inches, by $15\frac{1}{2}$; the single head, with part of the shoulders, is still in the family of the former; the dimensions of it are $21\frac{1}{2}$ inches, by $15\frac{1}{2}$.

(20) This could not be. I am well acquainted with the original, and Mr. Saunders's excellent copy of it is in my possession. Raphael's murderers are meagre, fierce, and without drapery; the former is clad, and expresses the lovely countenance of the painter himself, a semblance of which he has so often introduced in his works.

(21) They are noticed by Swinburne, who describes hangings at the Duke of Alva's at Madrid, "executed after the Cartoons of Raphael, which once formed part of the collection of Charles the First of England." (*Travels through Spain*, V. 2. P. 167.)

(22) Mr. Holloway, in the year 1826, terminated his valuable life. Fortunately, however, for the public, and the arts, the most important undertaking of his professional career devolves on his nephews, Messrs. Webb and Slann, long his coadjutors, who urge the termination of it; and it is gratifying to state, that, after the successful labour of nearly thirty years, the seventh Cartoon, representing the Beautiful Gate of the Temple, is now in progress; and when the series is complete, it will form one of the most important and interesting collections that ever issued from the hand of an engraver.

(23) I have sat by the tapestry weavers in Paris, and have examined the inferiority of a similar manufacture at Rome; and, though the operation is strictly mechanical, there appeared great inequality of execution throughout; and every *artist* in both these manufactories, could identify and point out the works of his fellow-labourers.

REMARKS
PREFATORY TO A VERBAL DESCRIPTION
OF THE
TAPESTRIES.

This Section contains an account of the great and essential points of the highest departments of Painting, in which the principal excellence of the Cartoons consists, and by which they are eminently distinguished.

As an intellectual painter, Raphael must be contemplated with astonishment, and we must not be accused of being misled by blind and indiscriminate admiration when we assert that we cannot sufficiently wonder at the riches or power of his mind ; at that penetration into the human character, which no depth could elude ; at that comprehension, for which no subject he ever undertook was too large ; and at that vigour which no labour could exhaust. My veneration for his works is founded on the circumstance of

their possessing all the great essentials of painting, as comprehended in Drawing, Composition, Invention, and Expression, qualities which, if we were allowed to personify them, might justly exclaim,

“ Senza di noi ogni fatica è vana.”

I am not insensible to the fascinations of Colouring, Light, and Shadow, or to the merit of accessories. These, when skilfully applied, impart an enlivening vigour of sentiment, contributing to the completion of what is usually deemed a perfect picture. But whatever merit may be assigned to such embellishments, they may exist in a respectable degree, while the mental powers of the artist are quiescent. For, to excel in the nobler departments of painting, the mind as well as the hand must be qualified for the task by elementary education and study; means essential to enable us to penetrate the heart of man, and the economy of nature. Unaided by such advantages, they tend only to seduce the inexperienced from mental to mechanical qualities. Should I be questioned as to the merit of a picture, I would reply, first remove from it, in idea, the embellishments just mentioned; and, by thus submitting it to the severe chastening of reason, (the trial by which we are to prove

the correctness of Raphael,) leave it to speak for itself. For how can an artist colour a hand or a foot, when he is incapable of drawing it?(1) Success in colouring depends not upon what lights and shadows are to be added, but upon correctness of outline. Colour represents nothing, nor has light or shadow any meaning, till circumscribed by form.

Composition is dependent on invention ; two ideas, which are often confounded. Invention, being intellectual, claims an elevated rank and a high degree of estimation. As a general power, it argues the command of a rich fund of ideas, and a readiness in associating and combining them in every requisite manner, in seizing at once the peculiar and prominent features of the subject, placing it in the noblest and most interesting view, and comprehending all that belongs to the action, to the genius, and powers of the art, by which they are to be embodied. A painter, as soon as he is affected by the Grand or the Pathetic, instantly cloaths his ideas in all that is touching to the sight, or awful to the mind ; and, in the execution of his design, the imagination of the spectator, throughout the whole composition, is powerfully impressed, and the leading sentiment forcibly developed. Considering composition in its combination with invention, it exhibits the dis-

posal of the several figures in the relation referable to the subject ; so as to produce that harmonious effect, by which the mind is informed and gratified. Composition, whether it regards the circumstances of an action carried on by many figures, or whether it comprehends the detailed adjuncts of a single figure, or any other union of parts forming a whole, whatever be its nature, it is indispensibly requisite that it should be reducible to one subject or action, and to one individual instant of time in that action. But the painter must employ his ingenuity upon such moments only as may sustain themselves independent of words, and carry all their elucidation in their exterior appearance with force and with precision. Without this, the strong hold of art, painting would be as tame and defective as it was under the old artists ; or as we see it now in the wood cuts prefixed to each Canto of the earlier editions of Ariosto, and giving the whole subject of it at once, with the name of each character at his feet, where different periods of time are brought together in the same view, or where the figures carry on conversations by means of the labels in their mouths.(2) The painter's choice, therefore, of this advantageous moment is of essential consideration ; for he should be able to reject whatever useless exuberances may have arisen

from the warmth and fertility of his imagination. Hence the *mute eloquence* of Raphael's composition derives its greatest efficacy and value. In referring to this endowment, Hurd has well observed, that "when *passion* is to be made known by outward *act*, Homer himself yields the palm to Raphael." (*Discourse on Poetical Imitation*, Sec. 1.) In the exercise of this talent, nothing can be more condensed and powerful than the scenes he presents. In them, consistency is never sacrificed to variety; we find riches without superabundance; finery is never the substitute for beauty; the eye is never assailed by affectation or constraint, and we feel all the pleasure resulting from fine composition, or a skilful arrangement of forms; a pleasure allied to that produced by harmonious sounds in music.

But the highest manifestation of Raphael's genius is to be found in the gift of Expression; a power which distinguishes the species of action in the whole generally, and in all its parts individually. As far down as the fifteenth century, artists may be said to have been unconscious of its power; imagination was rarely exercised; their works exhibit a monotonous uniformity of position, rather than of action, with an entire absence of sensibility. The only tendency to emotion, and that but faintly

expressed, is devotional. We may believe that the calm insignificance then displayed arose more from imperfection in the art itself, than from the intention of the artist; and we may hence perceive, that the human figure can only be represented, in proportion as it is understood. (3) Giotto was the first who brought painting to life, (*Vasari Pietro Cavallini, T. 2. P. 196.*); and, as we approach Raphael's time, there was a growing perception of excellence. The power of diffusion, at this season, may be conceived from the recollection, that Titian was born three, and Correggio only eleven years after Raphael; but it was an era when emulation invigorated the desire of fame, and softened the toils of labour. *Eccoci all' epoca la più felice che conti non pur la scuola Romana, ma la pittura moderna.*" (*Lanzi, Stor. pitt. T. 2. P. 40.*)

So great and varied in the power of expression was Raphael, that he has never since been surpassed; to this his strongest efforts tended, for this he invented, drew, and composed, without exhausting nature in the choice of subjects. He saw in nature what every body sees, and he has transmitted her features like the reflection in a lucid glass, unstained and unmodified. No one doubts that he should have done precisely like Raphael, till expe-

rience corrects his error. The power of expression in this great artist was not limited to the countenance only, but pervaded the whole person, as displayed in attitude and motion. His hands too have their appropriate language, which few *artists* have understood from his time to that of Mrs. Siddons. Neither are the cast of his draperies imitated from the cold formality of the lay-figure, but are indicative of living character and action. (4)

NOTES.

(1) Annibal Carracci used to say "*buon contorno e in mezzo*"—give me a good contour, and fill it up as you please. If a higher authority be required, Vasari, in his *Life of Michael Angelo*, (the best he ever wrote, and which deserves to be well studied by every young artist,) says, "the latter, in allowing the merit of Titian, used to express his regret, that, in the Venetian schools, drawing, and a better taste for study, were not more cultivated." "Nothing," he would assert, "is more certain, than that the painter who is not profound in drawing, and has not very diligently studied the chosen works of the ancients and moderns, can ever do any thing well of himself, nor make a proper use of what he does after nature." Symmetry can only result from correct drawing; symmetry must produce exact motion—distortion never. We occasionally follow a man or woman so well formed, that their tread communicates a pleasure not derivable from art. A Frenchman once, on the first sight of the Apollo, exclaimed, in rapture, "*Marchez donc*;" had the god obeyed, he could not have descended from the Pedestal with the strut of a dancing master.

(2) We may believe that the scrolls seen in gothic paintings, inscribed with texts from Scripture, were exhibited in Functions in the earlier ages of Christianity. The practice is still in use in the ceremonies of Palm Sunday, by the Maronites, in their Church of St. Maria *Ægiziaca*, (formerly the temple of Manly Fortune,) the officiating

priest carries up and down the church long stripes of parchment, inscribed with the law written in Syriac characters.

(3) The attainments of those days, however, have been, in some degree, under-rated, and that from an imperfect estimate of the state of painting. It was affirmed that artists were so unskilful as to be unable to place a figure otherwise than on its toes; a slander which has originated in a partial view of the subject taken from the long and slender figures on church skreens and sepulchral brasses, where this attitude is preserved, and with which the position of all the limbs harmoniously corresponds. This form was in strict conformity with the rules imperiously prescribed by composition, by which the figure *fitted* the elongated and narrow pannel, or the oblong plate of brass for which it was intended, and on which long prescription had affixed a sacred character. Skreen-painting with us is taken generally from the fifteenth century; but it does not present a fair statement of the art as it then actually was. In a strict examination of these sacred relics now preserved, little pictorial skill was necessary; for they were mechanically impressed by a process, still in use in the devotional pictures in the Greek church. "The silversmiths" (of Athens) "were occupied in making coarse rings for the Albanian women, and the poor remains of Grecian painters in fabricating, rather than delineating, pictures of saints and virgins. Their mode of doing this, may serve to shew how exactly the image of any set of features on the subject of representation may be preserved unaltered among different artists for many ages. The prototype is always kept by them, and transmitted with great care from father to son: it consists of a piece of paper, upon which the outline, and all the different parts of the design, even to the minutest circumstance, have been marked by a number of small holes,

pricked with the point of a pin or a needle. This pattern is laid on any surface prepared for painting, and rubbed over with finely powdered charcoal; the dust falling through the holes, leaves a dotted outline for the painter, who then proceeds to apply the colours much after the same manner, by a series of other papers having the places cut out where any particular colour is to be applied. Very little skill is requisite in the finishing; for in fact one of these manufacturers of effigies might with just as much ease give a rule to make a picture, as a tailor to cut out a suit of clothes: the only essential requisite is a good set of patterns; and these are handed down from father to son. Hence we learn the cause of that remarkable stiffness and angular outline which characterize all the pictures in the Greek churches." (*Clarke's Travels*, C. 13. P. 520.) I conceive that our ancient skreen-painters would have been as little satisfied with any other mode than that which they had adopted, as was the "Greek Priest who was buying some religious pictures at Venice: among others, he was shewn a noble piece of Titian. The priest, having well surveyed it, was very much scandalized at the extravagance of the relief, as he termed it. "You know," says he, "our religion forbids all idolatry: we admit of no images but such as are drawn on a smooth surface. The figure you have here shewn me, stands so much out to the eye, that I would no sooner suffer it in my church than a statue." (*Addison's Dialogues on Medals*, No. 3, near the end.)

In the transient view, to which I limit myself in this undertaking, I will only observe, that it is known from Bede that Masonry and the arts connected with it were introduced into England in the seventh and eighth century by two ecclesiastics, who had repeatedly visited Rome, where they studied architecture. These were the celebrated Wilfrid, Bishop of York, and afterwards of Hexham, and

Benedict Biscop, founder of the Abbey of Wearmouth. Wilfrid, who was one of the most ingenious, active, and magnificent Prelates of his day, erected several structures, of which York, Rippon, and Hexham, were the admiration of the age in which he flourished. The style of architecture is described as the "*mos Romanus*" which prevailed at Rome, and thence emanated, as a centre over Christian Europe, and from its debased character has been called *Romanesque*. It is by the early Italian architects denominated *Goffo*. It is aptly defined by Milizia, *Pesante, sproporzionato, e scuro*, (*Prefat.* xvii.); in England, Anglo-Saxon; the distinguishing characters of this deviation from legitimate architecture consist in the interruption of the entablature, and in the springing of semicircular arches from the *capitals* of the columns:—a deviation, in which we recognize the incipient Gothic; in the earlier essays of which, both pointed and round headed arches are occasionally seen mixed together.

In the building and decorations of these structures, continental artists and artizans, we are informed, were called into aid. Wilfrid made no fewer than six journies to Rome, chiefly with a view of collecting books, pictures, and statues, and of inviting artificers of various descriptions from Italy and France to settle in England. Benedict Biscop, in his fourth return, brought home pictures for his Abbey at Wearmouth; and among these are enumerated those of the Virgin, the Twelve Apostles, and several others from subjects in the Old and New Testament. "*Quatenus intrantes ecclesiam omnes etiam literarum ignari quoversum intenderent, vel semper amabilem Christi sanctorumque ejus quamvis in imagine contemplarentur aspectum.*" We are not able to procure an historical series of the Italian artists introduced into this country, from the time of Bede to the Reformation.

The motives that first brought them hither, and the influence of Rome, were, throughout that period, unabated. We know, that wherever there was architecture, there were also painting and sculpture: demands for these embellishments must, therefore, have kept pace with increasing buildings. I, therefore, deem myself justified in the belief that skreen-painting and sepulchral brass engraving do not always exhibit very perfect views of the state of the arts in this country. The arts of design have ever been consecrated to religion from their very cradle: a truth, the importance of which is well understood in the Romish church; nor were they in any country more actively exemplified than in our own, till the decease of Henry the Eighth, when the public mind was estranged from the cultivation of them by a subject of higher importance. But, during the prevalence of the former, I am persuaded that in England, to a certain degree, aided as it was from time to time by foreign artists, *a certain degree* of improvement kept pace with that on the Continent. I thus qualify the remark, since, on general occasions, men were more bent on perpetuating the miracles they pourtrayed, than on exhibiting the state of contemporary art. Favourable specimens have, indeed, been brought to light by the industry of modern antiquaries; and many others are in existence, covered up by the whiting-brush on the walls of our churches.

(4) Plutarch has erroneously affirmed that the Greeks, paying less regard to the other parts of the body, attended mostly to the delineation of the countenance. (*Vit. Alexand. in princip.*) Raphael well knew the effect to be produced by them. In all his principal figures, both hands are visible.

List of the Tapestries after Raphael's Cartoons,
taken from "*Le Ceremoniali*," &c. contain-
ing 25 Subjects.

- 1 La Natività di Gesù Christo.
- 2 L'Adorazione de' Magi.
- { 3
- 4 La Strage degl' Innocenti.
- 5
- 6 La presentazione di N. S. al Tempio.
- 7 La Pesca Miracolosa.
- 8 S. Pietro che riceve le chiavi.
- *9 La discesa di Gesù Christo al Limbo.
- 10 La Risurrezione.
- 11 Noli mi tangere.
- 12 La Cena di Gesù Christo in Emaus.
- 13 L' Ascensione.
- 14 La Venuta dello Spirito Santo.
- 15 Il Martirio di S. Stefano.
- 16 La Conversione di S. Paolo.
- 17 S. Paolo che si straccia le vesti, &c.
- 18 S. Paolo che predica nell' Areopago.
- 19 Il Castigo di Anania.
- 20 Elimas.
- 21 Il Tremuoto.
- 22 S. Pietro che sana lo Storpio.
- + { 23 Alcuni Putti i quali giuocano alle boccie, fanno
- 24 caccia d'uccelletti, &c.
- † 25 La Giustizia.

* *This is the Tapestry burnt during the French Revolution, as before described.*

† *These are still preserved, and kept in one of the private apartments of the Vatican Palace.*

‡ *In this subject, which is partly emblematical, the three figures of Religion, Charity, and Justice, are seen above the Papal armorial bearings. The last of the three figures gives name to this design.*

**List of the Tapestries after Raphael's Cartoons,
taken from *Carlo Fea*, containing 22 Subjects.**

- 1 Il Presepio.
- 2 L' Adorazione de' Magi.
- 3
- { 4 La Strage degli Innocenti.
- 5
- 6 Il Bambino Gesù presentato nel Tempio.
- 7 La Miracolosa Pesca al lago di Genesaret.
- 8 Il Redentore che costituisce S. Pietro suo Vicario.
- 9
- 10 La Risurrezione.
- 11 Noli mi tangere.
- 12 La Cena in Emaus.
- 13 L' Ascensione del Signore.
- 14 La Venuta dello Spirito Santo.
- 15 La Lapidazione del Protomartire S. Stefano.
- 16 La Conversione di Saulo.
- 17 S. Paolo e S. Barnaba a Listra.
- 18 La Predica di S. Paolo nell' Areopago.
- 19 Anania.
- 20 Elimas.
- 21 Il Terremoto.
- 22 S. Pietro il quale risana lo Storpio.
- 23 Emblemi allusi vi all' arme di Leone 10.
- 24
- 25

DESCRIPTION
OF THE
TAPESTRIES.

THE
ADORATION OF THE SHEPHERDS,

CALLED the *Presepio* (1) in Italy; where, on the Anniversary of the Nativity, may be seen, both in churches, and private houses, models of the stable at Bethlehem, gaily set off with foil, tinsel, branches of evergreens, and artificial flowers; while Joseph, the Virgin and Child, together with cows, mangers, and other appropriate appendages, are introduced. That now before us is a night scene, illumined from the infant; (2) and it has a very extraordinary effect in brightness and gradations of distance. The simplicity exhibited in the countenances of the shepherds, (3) whose robust forms are finely contrasted with the graceful and airy lightness of the angels above, is very captivating; but not the least charm of this composition is to be

found in the representation of the Holy Virgin, for whom, it is well known, Raphael had a particular devotion. Nothing better proves the varied feelings of a piety, sometimes artless and affectionate, at other times marked by respectful and lofty conceptions, than that diversity of aspects, under which his pencil, ever noble when the idea of composition is simple, lovely and graceful when it is sublime, delighted to delineate her. Sometimes she appears as the modest inhabitant of Bethlehem; sometimes as the queen of angels. The mere description of all the Madonnas, painted, or simply drawn by Raphael, and the variety he introduced in these compositions, would, as in all his other works, display a marked progression; and would form, at the same time, a complete series of all the shades of character which he had the art of representing, either distinct or in combination, according to the subject. In these are united the ideas of innocence, virgin purity, grace, sublimity, sanctity, divinity; qualities which he has portrayed in all the variety of which they are susceptible. Some have supposed, that Raphael has, in point of beauty, been excelled by Guido, and several other painters of the second class.

All human excellence is founded in propriety; and the mind, to be engaged to any

efficient purpose, must neither be distracted nor confused.

To establish lasting reputation, we must, therefore, be governed by those laws which are conformable to nature; for all the productions of taste and science rest on the same common basis; and, in proportion as they exhibit the powers of understanding or sensibility of heart, they excite the gratitude and approbation of posterity. The Madonnas (4) of Raphael are portrayed after this general character. Those of Guido, (5) on the contrary, display those graces of attraction which court the eye of the inexperienced beholder; while those of Raphael are void of all tendency to affectation, and, if but little varied, are always new. They look as if unconscious of observation, and never thinking of themselves. But, what is of more importance, those of Guido have a character which is not compatible with the subject, and are besides deficient in that religious expression, which was the exclusive talent of Raphael. Nor is the refinement of his women, taken generally, the result of education or rank, but the inherent attendant of modesty, sweetness, and beauty, the gifts of nature. They exhibit the combined points of attraction; as a sex, they are tender, gentle, innocent: they are also intellectual: they

possess what we all sympathise with, because their qualities are those which render a woman delightful. But he never seems to distinguish them, as nature often distinguishes them; they never look as if they could be daring or vicious, artfully frank or insidiously timid, wittily trifling or coquettishly fond. Raphael never condescended to represent vice; his mind was too much that of an angel to bear the sting attendant on its conception. Raphael's women have general qualities, but not particular; distinctive marks of character, the result of habit or organization. All his women look, as if, should evil come into their minds, (which is a question,) it would pass out unapproved or unsanctioned, from the very artlessness of their simplicity.

The possession of these endowments exalted the style of Raphael to perfection. I know that much common place assertion has been brought against him by some persons, as having never risen to ideal beauty, a term they would restrict to some of the finest remains of Grecian art. Now, I conceive that each style of object, and of subject, has its ideal, which is no more than a generalization of character brought back by the genius of art to the idea or original image, which becomes at once a type for the mind, while the *consuetudo oculorum* has its

principle of correspondence with the just and accurate. Thus defined, the term ideal beauty is to be interpreted *nature*. Art is limited, imagination is boundless: and this being the case, none will ever be satisfied with what he has done, or stop short of the perfection he is able to conceive. The highest manifestations of ideal beauty exist in the Greek statues: in those of Christian subjects, Raphael is unrivalled. It may, further, be remarked, that the idea of a Venus, a Juno, or a Minerva, cannot be that of a Madonna. It would be as incongruous to give to the features and dress of the Virgin the heroic grandeur and form of character of the antique statues (which many have done,) as it would be to represent her under the too common semblance of a mere mother with her child, in all the characters of domestic familiarity. Unquestionably, every country and every street presented innumerable models of mothers with their children; but Raphael had the merit of selecting the most graceful attitudes, and had a simplicity peculiar to himself in the expression of infantine grace, and maternal tenderness.

The Madonna della Seggiola (6) is a composition well known as one of his most pleasing works. The manner in which the child is grouped with its mother, and the grace and ele-

gance of the whole composition have singularly captivated the taste of those, who are less sensible to the consistency and appropriate character than to the impressions of its effect upon the senses.

Raphael, in all these compositions, without sacrificing a certain grace, with which the subject cannot dispense, always kept at a great distance from what might be termed the *simple natural*, or, in other words, the vulgar style of a scene entirely domestic. There is, perhaps, scarcely one among his Madonnas who is not more or less impressed with the character of religious inspiration, or in whom we may not trace a ray of that celestial dignity, which, diffusing itself through all the figures, raises the aspect of the objects above terrestrial ideas and affections, without trespassing upon those, in which the angels, mixing their homage with that of the attending worshippers, teach the spectator that a supernatural bond unites this apparently human mother with the mysteries of heaven. There prevails, through the whole composition, an elevation and sanctity of sentiment, the principles of which cannot be mistaken. Sometimes, the infant is the subject of adoration, at other times Joseph, (7) a tranquil spectator, seems to be in the secrets of the councils of the Most High, and meditating on

their unfathomable depths. In some instances, the Virgin Mother intimates, by her tender and respectful attentions, that, while she contemplates the mysteries of the Redemption, she appreciates the value of the charge confided to her: whilst, on other occasions, an agonizing presentiment seems to reveal to her the sorrows for which she is rearing the fruit of her womb; and in the infantine relations of the son of Elizabeth with that of Mary, there is a measure of veneration and submission already indicating the distance which is to separate the Messiah from his forerunner.

To this (without subtracting from the merit of many others) we think particularly applicable the general eulogy which Vasari has conferred upon the Virgin of Raphael. “ He exhibited all that can be effected by the power of beauty, in the representation of a Virgin, combining the expression of modesty, of honour, of grace, and of virtue.” (8)

*“ Vergine Madre, figlia del tuo figlio,
Umile ed alta, più che creatura,
Termino fisso d’ eterno consiglio,
Tu sei colei che l’ umana natura
Nobilitasti sì, che ’l suo fattore
Non si sdegnò di farsi tua fattura.”*

(Algarotti.)

THE ADORATION OF THE MAGI.

In the apparent complexity of this multitudinous composition of between 40 and 50 persons, Raphael has manifested his superior skill in grouping, by securing two important requisites in the *Epopée*, unity of design and unity of action. We have here fulness without confusion; each figure is a portrait, and although all bear the same expression of surprise which would be evident among a number of persons brought together on some novel occasion, and all are intent on the same object, yet each is impressed with consistent diversity of features, and with an expression characteristic of the various feelings of devotion and astonishment prevalent in each individual. Raphael, after having exercised his genius upon this subject, both in pictures and in designs, seems to have aimed at uniting, in this composition, all the ideas scattered through all that preceded it, all the varieties of character and expression, all the richness, which the subject, as an historical piece, could endure, and all the splendour, which oriental pomp suggests to the imagination. It is, also, probable that this superfluity of accessories, of minute

delineation of camels, of elephants, of horses, was occasioned by the artist's desire to furnish the tapestry-workers with happy objects of imitation in the splendour and variety of the stuffs, and the wonderful diversity of the ornaments; and it is certain that no other tapestry has so brilliant an effect, and that no other so powerfully attracts the eyes of the crowds of spectators. But, what we must principally applaud, is the conception and tendency of the picture. Raphael enjoyed the privilege of viewing every subject in its highest dignity. No one understood better than he, that religious subjects, especially those appertaining to the mysteries of the origin of Christianity, may be conceived and represented by the painter in two different ways. In one, he simply represents the action, as the Evangelist relates it; (9) and this he has done more than once, in retracing the subject of this Cartoon. If he adopts the other style, like the epic poet well acquainted with succeeding events, he prophetically reveals them; and the spectator, in contemplating the action and principal subject, traces the miraculous consequences. Thus the adoration of the wise men signifies, as is comprised in the word Epiphany, the revelation of the Saviour, and the call of the Gentiles by their future Deliverer. It was a sublime idea in Raphael to oppose the

poverty of the stable to the luxury and pomp of the wise men prostrated at the feet of the Divine Infant; and also, by a prophetic licence, to assemble round the manger this multitude of people, inhabitants of every country, who, by stretching their arms towards him, announce that the Redeemer of the whole world is come!

THE MASSACRE OF THE INNOCENTS.

This was, at first, comprised in one composition, and so was engraved by Marc Antonio Raimondi; but we have no reason for believing it was ever so copied in tapestry. It was afterwards divided into three parts; and from the skill evinced in the division, and the requisite changes in the composition, probably by Raphael himself, they were thus woven in tapestry; and in the Vatican catalogue they are numbered 3, 4, 5. The reason of this division, as we may suppose, arose from the convenience of hanging them over door ways, (10) and of using them as coverings for narrow spaces in the apartments they were intended to decorate. There are several of the others of nearly the same width; but this was the only one of the compositions, that admitted of separation. The Cartoon of one of these, engraved by Sommerau (No. 2,) is in the possession of P. Hoare, Esq. and exhibits every mark of authenticity, as it regards the force and purity of the Master's hand. This treasure was purchased at a sale in London, by that Gentleman's father. As to condition, it may be reckoned nearly perfect, though, as before mentioned, it is

much blackened from having been formerly oiled over. The genuineness of this composition is further identified in a note in the Siena edition of Vasari's Life of Raphael, where it is said, a part of the Massacre was, in the last century, brought into this country from Holland, "*Ma essendo tutta ricoperta di colore a olio, ed anche miserabilmente, fu creduta piuttosto una copia.*"

The Massacre of the Innocents thus divided, ought, notwithstanding, to be considered as one subject; though the figures are composed apart in each division, and in such a manner that, on placing them near each other, they equally remain distinct pictures. In this treble composition, Raphael, who could never repeat himself, himself divided it, for the purpose of having it engraved by Marc Antonio. This design, we must confess, has some advantages over the tapestry; as the space in width is proportionably double that of the new compositions, the various scenes are made to succeed each other, and are grouped and combined with an effect more pleasing to the eye. The narrow dimensions, and the height of the subjects designed for the tapestries, induced Raphael to heap up, if we may thus express ourselves, the characters in one of these compositions; and, that he might insert many, he has been obliged to place some over the heads of the others. Besides, no Car-

toon more clearly evinces his inexhaustible fertility, and his peculiar talent for varying his conceptions, and excelling his first thoughts, both in energy and in comprehensiveness.

Scarcely do we perceive one idea repeated from the beginning to the end of the design. If there be, indeed, any repetition, it is because the subject, which consists entirely of the massacre of children torn from their mothers, and of the same action many times repeated, renders it impossible for the painter not to retrace the same situations, both physical and moral. Yet, excepting this forced resemblance, we may affirm that there is not one attitude, one figure repeated, not one motion, one head, one expression of character, but has, in Raphael, the merit of a new invention. We often consider a subject exhausted, when it has been treated by a person of real genius; yet, how many subjects have been repeated, and many times, by Raphael, who never seems to have exhausted any; and who, had he found it necessary, could have again represented the Massacre of the Innocents, and with new invention. The truth is, that as nature infinitely varies the sensations she produces, so likewise there is an infinite variety in the images derived from those sensations. Now, what characterises the genius of invention, is this property of the imagination to multiply her

images, as nature multiplies the variety of her emblems.

It is true, that all the artists, who, since Raphael, have exercised their talents on the Massacre of the Innocents, dispose us to think that the subject was exhausted by him; and it is also true, that in no work of art have the powers of expression been carried so far. We have difficulty in conceiving how emotions so strong could be portrayed. Raphael, in this excellence, also seems to have attained the utmost limits of invention.

The art of painting, as well as other arts, has a secret for producing effect and expression, and this is, to concentrate the action into one principal scene (—all substitutes are here unavailing.—“*Frustra per plura fit, quod per pauciora fieri potest.*”—) Le Brun, for instance, in painting the Massacre of the Innocents, has, on the contrary, so multiplied scenes, actions, and episodes, that scarcely one is remembered; yet the same subject, by Raphael, makes an indelible impression; for he seizes the principal circumstances, directs to this point the strength of his invention, fixes upon it the eyes, and engages in it the interest of the spectator. Thus, in the three compositions, he has placed in the foreground the most terrible, yet most pathetic object in his tragedy.

In one, he displays, in the front of the picture, the horrific group, where the executioner with one hand grasps a dagger, with the other snatches the child from its mother, who, cast upon the ground, defends it with all the violence of affection in despair. The movement, the attitude, the head of the executioner, are those of a ferocious animal; and yet, like all the others, his individual character is as accurately discriminated as that of the murderers in *Macbeth*, whose motives of atrocity are variously defined. The vigorous action and the expression of the head of the woman, denote the highest point the painter can attain in representing human passions, without those exaggerated contortions which destroy all harmony of form. In the *second*, the scene is equally tremendous. All repetition is avoided by the consummate skill of the artist, who keeps tremblingly alive the feelings of the spectator. In the *third* composition, Raphael has endeavoured to place on the foreground a scene which, by presenting a species of opposition to the first, and second, and also to the fury of the soldiers, who are occupied in snatching from the mothers the objects of their tenderest love, becomes, in some measure, "the last act of this tragedy." A mother, sitting on the ground, holds her murdered infant in her lap, and yields, in despair, to a grief

tranquil but profound. This grief is so forcibly depicted, that her emotions are shared by the spectator, and we cannot see her weep unmoved. There is "a sympathetic virtue" in her tears, of which no parallel is found in art, except in the family of Niobe.

The Massacre of the Innocents, for power, variety, and expression, has ever been ranked by artists among the first efforts of Raphael's genius. Raphael might not have made choice of this subject; but he is allowed by his countrymen to have been influenced by religious motives in this attempt to commemorate the Redeemer's escape from massacre, and to keep alive the popular hatred against the Jews, the supposed instigators of this cruelty. Such as it is, the subject has invited the pencil of some of the most eminent painters in Europe; who, in their delineation, have shewn their abomination of the transaction by "*out Herodizing Herod.*" (11) Chambray de Frenard, designated by his countrymen as "*bien accueilli dans son tems, et assez estimé encore aujourd'hui,*" doubtless expressed the feelings of the French nation during the polished reign in which he lived, when he said, "I should have made those cruel assassins with fierce and extravagant countenances, with fear, rage, and despair in the faces and actions of the unfortunate mothers,

their tresses dishevelled, and their limbs bruised with the strokes and blows received in defending their innocent sucklings against savage and merciless soldiers. The ground should have been covered with arms, legs, and heads, cut off from their mangled and lacerated trunks, all about should have been nothing save an horrible butchery, with the dreadful confusion of an affrighted people, some running up and down, others crying, and the tender mothers even expiring for sorrow upon their dead massacred babes; others again endeavouring, by flight, to save their children. In short, on all parts there should have appeared nothing but desolation, blood, and carnage."

"Sunt quæ refugiunt Musæ horrore percussæ."

Once we read that the Muses fled from their beloved Greece with horror, shrieking at the cruelties of Pyrenæus. The tyrant, attempting to soar after them, like de Chambray,

*"cedit in vultus discussique ossibus oris
Tundit humum moriens."*

(Metamph. L. 5. 1. 292.)

CHRIST PRESENTED IN THE TEMPLE.

The scene of this ceremony is in the magnificent Temple at Jerusalem.

The characteristics of the composition are Grace and Dignity. It contains a groupe of beautiful females, in the sweetest attitude, and in varied and glowing draperies. The preparation for the ceremony is consistent. The exterior of the High Priest is majestic. He holds out his hands to receive the infant, who shrinks back, clinging to the bosom of his mother in the most natural manner.

THE

MIRACULOUS DRAUGHT OF FISHES.

When we say that the Cartoons for the tapestries were painted by Raphael's own hand, do we not attribute to him too laborious a task, considering the multitude of his occupations and interruptions? and may we not more justly suppose that, after having composed all, he entirely executed some of them only, and worked more or less at the others? and, even in those which he reserved for his sole execution, may he not have employed the pencil of his pupils on the subordinate parts? Thus, Giovanni d' Udine, whom we have seen in the Loggie at the Vatican, and at the Casino Farnese, as entrusted with the painting of the flowers, fruits, and animals, may, probably, in the miraculous draught of fishes, have executed the water, the sky, and the landscape, and also the aquatic birds, which communicate a picturesque wildness to the scene, and which, placed on the shore of the foreground, and breaking the parallel lines made by the boat and base of the picture, prevent heaviness in that part where it

would otherwise have existed. This Cartoon, though it contains fewer figures, and is less rich in motion and expression, and less dramatic in its subject than most of its companions, yet displays striking beauties in the attitudes of the fishermen. The drawing is accurate; the colouring has great freshness, and the brilliancy of the tints well adapted to the subject, seems designed to produce varieties, and even contrasts; as in this collection, each picture appears to greater advantage from the opposite qualities of its companions. Much censure has been wasted on the smallness of the boats. But who ever thought of the boats who could appreciate this composition? (12) Raphael knew what he was doing, as well, at least, as the authors of such criticism.

THE LAST CHARGE TO PETER.

Having determined on the history that is to be painted, the first thing the painter has to do, is to make himself master of it, as delivered by historians, or otherwise; and then, to consider how to improve it, keeping within the bounds of probability. Thus the ancient sculptors imitated nature; and thus the best historians have delivered their narratives. In this collection, one of the Cartoons most remarkable for purity of design and effect, is certainly that, in which our Lord, after having given the keys to St. Peter, points out, figuratively, the flock with which he entrusts him; it is the "*Feed my sheep.*" Raphael has treated very few subjects, especially such as are on a grand scale, where we may not trace the details, or the first ideas which he sometimes had occasion to employ, in a more confined space. The connection between these repetitions proves to us the facility with which he varied, and the skill with which he perfected his inventions. This subject, "*Feed my sheep,*" which we continually find represented in the borders of the tapestries, seems to have formed the sketch of the Cartoon: and yet there is not

in the whole composition of the finished Cartoons, a single figure exactly resembling those in the sketches; we do not find in them one invention or one thought which is not better explained or ennobled. There is more amplitude in the draperies, more life in the dispositions, and more variety in the groups. The different feelings of the Apostles seem adapted to the peculiar character of each, and display it to our observation. The general expression of this picture is composure; the harmony is gentle, the effect clear, and the design and execution correspond, by their purity, with the greatness of the subject, and with the charm of the situation in which the scene is laid. But, however slightly the incident is touched by the sacred historian, and however slight it may appear in the narrative, in Raphael the whole is full, animated, and connected; rounded, and wound up to the highest pitch; and, for conception, discrimination of character, composition, and expression, stands forward as one of his most distinguished works. In this picture, the Apostles are all collected into one compact group, as would naturally happen when any important communication was expected; and the Saviour, both by his majestic simplicity of action, and by his detached situation, is evidently the principal figure of the piece.

Before him, St. Peter kneels with joyful reverence, to receive the sacred charge. St. John, the beloved disciple, who may be supposed to feel some mortification at this choice of a pastor, presses forward with enthusiasm, as if to shew that, in zeal and affection, he yields to no one; and the rest, though all attention and dignity, are varied both in attitude and expression with an extraordinary and surprising felicity of management; some seeming to feel complete satisfaction in the preference given to St. Peter, some doubting its propriety, some appearing inclined to whisper disapprobation, while the gestures of others betray their subjection to the dæmon of envy. All these varied and contrasted emotions, accompanied each by that appropriate action and physiognomical character and temperament which display so deep an insight into the human mind, are the pure offspring of the artist's imagination; and so happily supply the deficiencies of the historian, that, far from weakening or contradicting, they at once aggrandize, embellish, and render the truth more probable and affecting.

“ Every body knows the common or ordinary distinctions by dress; but there is one instance of a particular kind, which I will mention as being likely to give useful hints to this purpose, and as being moreover very curious in itself. In

this Cartoon, our Saviour is wrapt only in one large piece of white drapery ; his right arm and breast, and part of his legs, are naked ; and, undoubtedly, this was done to denote him as now appearing before us in his risen body, and not as before his crucifixion, when this dress would have been altogether improper. This is the more remarkable, as it was changed upon second thoughts, and after the picture was perhaps finished. With this fact I am acquainted by having a very ancient drawing of this Cartoon, probably made in Raphael's time, though not by his hand, where the Christ is fully clad. He has the very same drapery, but has also one under it that covers his breast, arm, and legs, down to his feet. Every thing else is pretty near the same with the Cartoon." (*Richardson, Section on Expression, P. 88.*)

THE DESCENT INTO LIMBUS.

The belief of a receptacle thus denominated was early entertained in the Romish Church. The clearest description of it is to be found in the 66th Sermon of Petrus Chrysologus, Archbishop of Ravenna, who lived in the reign of the Emperor Valentinian. In this work, without any due authority, we are directed to believe that Hell admits of four-divisions, the lowest of which is assigned to the wicked; the next is purgatory, where souls are purified by fire; the third is the Limbus of untimely births and of infants who have died without baptism; and in the fourth, are gathered together the souls of the just, who died before the crucifixion. It was hither that our Lord descended, for the purpose of delivering our first Parents, the Patriarchs, and good men, from this bondage. It is "now unpeopled and untrod." (*Milton, P. L. B. 3. l. 497.*)

The Heathen origin of this extraordinary fiction will be obvious to the reader.

" Continuo auditæ voces, vagitus et ingens,
Infantumque animæ flentes in limine primo
Quos dulcis vitæ exortes et ab ubere raptos
Abstulit atra dies, et funere mersit acerbo."

(*Æneid, 6. 426*)

In this composition, the outward view of Limbus Patrum is represented by a rude mass of rock, having a square doorway ; and before it is a stone pit, in which certain of the captives about to be delivered are seen. Our Saviour stands with a banner displayed in one hand (a cross gules on a field argent,) while, with the other, he takes one of them by the hand in the action of raising him up. Adam and Eve, with a standing figure supposed to be Abraham, are already liberated, and are placed on the foreground. The whole design exhibits the great characteristics of Raphael ; but if any one of the tapestries excites less interest than the rest, it may be this. The figure of the Redeemer is, however, extremely beautiful.

THE RESURRECTION.

This is a subject of the highest importance; since the Resurrection of Christ from the grave is the firmest pledge and assurance of ours. As a specimen of pictorial excellence, it possesses all the mastery we admire in the other Cartoons; the same skilful arrangement, the same art concealed by nature, in her requisite variety and accidental discrimination. The back ground is landscape, and proves the proficiency of Raphael in that department. In the middle of the composition appears a rock, out of which a sepulchre is hewn, as is mentioned in the Gospel. The stone, which had closed the entrance, is just thrown down, and the first object which strikes the spectator is the glorious appearance of Christ stepping forth with a placid and victorious Majesty, bearing a banner similar to that in the Limbus Patrum, and triumphing over death and sin. This scene so entirely arrests the attention, as to leave the spectator no possibility of doubting that it is the Resurrection. The effect on the Guards is that of the moment; consternation variously expressed pervades them all. Some are stopping their ears, as if stunned.

with the tremendous fall of the covering stone ; some are in the act of fleeing ; others are on the ground ; others are hiding their faces ; while those of a bolder character fearlessly behold the awful scene. The armour they bear is that of the Roman soldier, faithfully copied from classical and contemporary authorities. The foreground is strewn with helmets, small weapons, and military ornaments of the most elegant description.

**JESUS CHRIST APPEARING TO MARY
MAGDALEN IN THE GARDEN, AND
THE DISCIPLES AT EMMAUS.**

As the Tapestries were destined to ornament apartments in the Vatican, their dimensions (as before mentioned in the account of the Massacre of the Innocents) were fitted to the spaces they were intended to fill. Some, though equal in height, do not possess half the width of those already mentioned. Of this description are the two pieces which represent our Lord after his Resurrection ; one, his appearance to Mary Magdalen, in the form of a gardener ; the other, where he discovers himself to his disciples at Emmaus. Both these subjects are treated with artless consistency.

In the first, Mary in surprise throws herself on her knees, to kiss the feet of her Divine Master ; but rests astonished, on being cautioned not to touch him.

The scene of the other is in an alcove, picturesquely covered with a loaded Vine ; the

background being a garden, over which the Sun is rising in majesty. It is the interesting moment, when the Redeemer discovers himself to the two disciples by breaking bread. One immediately adores, and the other is on the brink of recognizing him. (13)

THE ASCENSION OF OUR LORD.

The twelfth subject, and one of the most remarkable of these compositions, is the ascension, which, from the form required, naturally exceeds the others in height. Our Lord appears in the Heavens, accompanied by two angels, having just quitted his disciples, who occupy the lower part of the picture. *One* sentiment pervades all the characters; astonishment, mixed with respect and adoration. All are on their knees, or ready to kneel; all direct their eyes to the same spot in a uniformity of position, of attitude, and of feeling. (14) A great attraction of this design is the head of our Saviour, the adequate representation of which has often fruitlessly exercised the talent of artists. Leonardo da Vinci and Raphael have been most successful in the attempt. As is well known, these were men of deep research and pre-eminent powers; and, though they lived more than fifteen centuries after the commencement of the Christian æra, it may be conceived that their ideas were aided by original imitations existing even in their days; and that such did really exist, we are justified in believing. Irenæus, whc

was born as early as the year 130, says that the Carpocratians exhibited both statues and pictures of our Saviour, and that Pilate had caused a likeness to be painted of him. (*Contra Hæreses*, L. 1. C. 25.) Tertullian (*in Apologetic. s. 5.*) speaks of the intention of Tiberius to assign a place to our Saviour amongst the deities of Rome, as a thing publicly and commonly known. Eusebius relates, that there was, *in his time*, in the City of Paneas (*Cæsarea Philippi*) a group of bronze figures, representing Christ and the woman whom he had cured, (*Luke viii. Matt. ix.*) and proceeds, “we are not to be surprised that “the Gentiles should raise a monument to those “who were cured by our Saviour;” and further, “that he had *seen* pictures of the Apostles, as “of *St. Peter* and *St. Paul*, and of *Christ himself*, kept and preserved; for it was an ancient “custom among the heathens,” he continues, “to honour those after this manner, who had “benefitted their country.” (*Hist. Eccles. L. 5. C. 20. L. 7. C. 17.*) Zozomen too reports that Julian, who lived at the same time, took down the statue of Christ, to withdraw the people from idolatry, and in order to substitute his own. (*Hist. Eccles. L. 5. C. 23.*) It is not essential to my purpose that these details should be literally true; but we cannot deny the existence of what men like these declare that they have *seen*.

The same gratitude and veneration which prompted the early Christians to preserve a resemblance of their Lord, would operate equally in making them hand down his features to posterity. The impulse is natural, and has been observed from remote antiquity ; and the heads of Socrates and Plato, for instance, are as well known to us *now*, as they were to their contemporaries. If, therefore, we can produce a portrait of Christ of the time of Zozomen, the latest of the four writers above quoted, may we not fairly conclude it to be a faithful resemblance? One of these was within these few years to be seen in the Basilica (15) of St. Paul, in Via Ostiense, before that structure was destroyed by fire. The situation of it was over the Arcus Triumphalis, and it possessed traits of benign majesty beyond what we observe in common mortals. It was executed in Mosaick, an art practised through every period at Rome, and which is almost as indestructible as the building it adorned. The date of the edifice was verified by an inscription, from which we learn that it was dedicated to Placidia, the mother of Valentinian the Third. (A. D. 441.)

When at Rome, I was very careful in collecting the opinions of persons best qualified to judge concerning this portrait. I have viewed it with our own Flaxman, “ himself a host;”

and every one whom I consulted, concurred in the belief of its being a genuine remain. A question will instantly suggest itself to the reader, "Why was not the portrait of Christ uniformly continued among the faithful, with the same accuracy as those of Socrates and Plato?" One reason might be found in the wide diffusion of the Christian religion through so many countries of different manners, habits, and ideas, each of whom would naturally represent the countenance of the Redeemer under the similitude most congenial to their own minds and feelings; although the true effigy might still be preserved in the capital of the Western Church, such as we presume to be the portrait once existing in the Church of St. Paul. Another cause might be, that, in the early periods of the Christian faith, the cross was represented simply, as it was in imagination seen by Constantine. This sacred symbol was at times rendered significant by the accompaniment of a gemmed or laurelled crown held over it by a hand, from the clouds, with A and Ω. The body of Christ was not represented on the cross till the seventh century. It was first so admitted in the Western Church, with the head bowed down; whereas, in the Eastern, (though not without some exceptions,) the face was lifted up. In the latter, the effigy of Christ is first seen on

a Byzantine Coin, struck in the reign of Justinian the Second, (685—695,) (*Constan. Christ.*), previously to which time we find only crosses and anagrams. The Greeks, indeed, reluctantly yielded to an innovation which they deemed degrading to the Divine character, and rarely if ever exposed the Saviour of mankind—(and how barbarous the exposure!—) to open view, nailed to the cross, crowned with thorns, exhausted by suffering, and devoid of grace and majesty. To the Latins, among whom the rudiments of antient art are not so evident as among the Greeks, and whose ideas were therefore more on a level with common life, this mournful character of the “Man of Sorrows” was more congenial. Anxious to render the subject in the highest degree affecting, and to bring it home to the feelings of every one under national configuration, (16) attempts to be pathetic degenerated into low life, and a system of worship was inculcated, which addressed itself more to the passions than to the understanding of its votaries. In the aspect of the author of my Redemption, let me not contemplate a mortal sinking under infirmities like those to which I feel myself exposed; but a being, who animates me with hope, and inspires me with a confidence which enables me to exult in the consciousness that “*my Redeemer liveth !*”

Respecting the unsatisfactory feeling usually conveyed by a view of the countenance of our Redeemer, it must be admitted that those who have not had the advantage of surveying fine pictures, are able to conceive only a very imperfect idea of them, from copies *in oil* or from *engravings*. In an engraving, for instance, the picture has to pass through the conceptions and the hand of the copier, the designer, and the engraver. The works of man partake of himself to a degree of which we are not aware: for, as one cannot see with the eyes of another, so he only who can comprehend with another man's understanding, and whose cast of mind nearest assimilates to the painter he would imitate, has a chance of being faithful to the original. Where this advantage does not occur, we are presented only with a *mannered* attempt of his own. Hence it is that the heads of Christ, copied from the two masters now about to be quoted, are deficient in correctness and sublimity; although the fault does not rest with the mind of the master, but is rather to be found in the insufficiency of his copyist.

The first of these is Leonardo da Vinci. The diffidence of this wonderful man was equal to his talents. When he conceived the *Cena*, he felt and acknowledged the difficulty of the undertaking, "non pensando poterle dare quella divinità ce-

“ leste che all’ imagine di Christo si richiede.”
 (*Vasari. Vol. 5. P. 31. Lomazzo. Tratt. della
 pitt. T. 1. C. 9. (17)* The attempt concentrated
 all his powers, and he therein achieved as much
 as could be done by man. The same diffi-
 dence was felt by Raphael himself, when he
 conceived the Transfiguration, which he painted
 with his own hand, and wherein the head of the
 Redeemer was reserved for his last touches.
 “ Lasciando a finire per l’ *ultima* cosa la faccia
 “ del Salvatore, volle egli in quel sacro volto
 “ unire insieme ogni sua abilità, e fare, siccome
 “ fece, gli ultimi sforzi dell’ arte.” (*Baldinucci.
 op. T. 6. P. 237.*)

Lavater was so captivated with the idea, that
 he has left us the following effusion :

“ Ah ! si l’Antiquité nous avoit transmis un
 “ profil exact de ce divin Jésus, que cette
 “ image seroit chère à mon cœur ! Je sacrifie-
 “ rois tout pour la posséder ; elle seroit pour moi
 “ le monument le plus auguste et le plus saint.
 “ Oui, je reconnoitrois dans ses traits celestes,
 “ le temoignage des vérités qu’il nous a laissées.
 “ J’y retrouverois tout le caractère de son E’van-
 “ gile, et cette preuve parleroit mieux à mon
 “ esprit, que les versions les plus fidèles, que
 “ les manuscrits originaux mêmes.”

(*Onzième Fragment, P. 189.*)

THE DESCENT OF TONGUES.

This design comprehends the Virgin and the Apostles assembled together, as if in expectation of the coming of the Holy Ghost, according to the promise of the Redeemer. The expression of each person present is earnest, calm, and devotional; yet so characterized as to mark individuality. A mass of light illumines the scene, the more distant irradiations of which are too faint and delicate to be faithfully represented in weaving.

From the want of action which the subject necessarily required, monotony might have been expected to result from any hand but that of Raphael. He, however, has varied the subject by the introduction of a number of little circumstances, that escape the eye of the common observer, but tend to produce an effect, at once divine and gratifying.

THE STONING OF ST. STEPHEN.

The proto-martyr is represented kneeling, and anachronically clad in a diaconal habit. The character expresses resignation, which seems to pervade his whole person, undisturbed by the furious zeal of his persecutors; for whose forgiveness, with eyes fixed on heaven, he earnestly prays.

“ Tu tamen attollens passas ad sidera palmas
 Immotosque oculos, mediâ ipsâ in morte rogabas
 Cœlicolum regem, crudeli parceret hosti.
 Cum ferus interea non ille absisteret ictu
 Sed magis atque magis stimulis agitatus iniquis
 Soeviret donec lapidum sub grandine dirâ
 Efflasti felicem animam, cœlumque petisti.
 Unde hominum curas rides miseratus inanes
 Supplicibusque faves, tuâ qui prece nomina poscunt,
 Me nunc, qui novus ingredior tua templa sacerdos
 Et tibi sacra fero puero puer, aspice præsens ;
 Da fraudis scelerumque exortem ducere vitam ;
 Da contemnere opes et vulgi gaudia, honores,
 Et casto usque tuis operari pectore sacris.”

(*Vida* “ *Hymnus Divo Stephano Protomartyri*,”
Oper. T. 4.)

THE CONVERSION OF ST. PAUL.

As these designs of Raphael are impressed with the same great marks of originality and talent, I could not minutely point out the merit of every one, without much repetition. I have, therefore, generally speaking, employed the more minute details in describing the original Cartoons which are in this country, and, of course, within the reach of general reference.

The conversion of St. Paul, who, terrified by the voice of our Saviour, falls from his horse, blinded by the sudden flash of heavenly light, forms the subject of this Tapestry. The consistent attitude of the convert, then a warrior and persecutor of the Christians, the astonishment of the other figures, who "see the light, yet hear no voice," are particularly striking. From the nature of the subject, the composition is much expanded; there is, however, no confusion; and individuality is so admirably preserved, though every one is intent on the same object, that there is throughout unity of action.

ST. PAUL AND ST. BARNABAS AT LYSTRA.

This is another of these compositions, in which Raphael excels all other painters in his power of rendering his subject intelligible, by choosing those circumstances, and delineating those peculiarities, which will represent the action most clearly and most forcibly. Writers in general, says *Lanzi*, like to quote, as a proof and example of this particular talent in him, the Tapestry or Cartoon which represents St. Paul and St. Barnabas in the City of Lystra. (18)

The miracle of the man, a cripple from his birth, to whom these two Apostles had restored the use of his legs, had struck the people of Lystra with astonishment. They looked upon them as Gods, and were preparing to offer sacrifice to them. On one side of the picture we behold the multitude, leading the victims: the altar and the sacrifices are ready; the axe is raised. But, among the crowd, we distinguish one figure, who puts forth his hand, and seems to oppose the completion of the sacrifice. He is a disciple sent by the Apostles, to prevent the

stroke. On the other side, St. Paul is indignantly protesting against the sacrilege. He averts his head, and rends his clothes. No character can be more dignified and expressive; and the skill and good taste of the artist are equally displayed in contrasting with his figure that of St. Barnabas, who, placed behind him, with folded hands, implores Heaven to stop this profanation. But, what principally merits the attention of the spectator is the ingenuity with which Raphael, in this composition, has united, and even illustrated by this union, the general act which passes before our eyes, and the particular act, by which it was occasioned; impossible, as it might seem, to effect this without the aid of writing. Now this act, or this cause, is the miracle already mentioned.

It is necessary that the spectator should learn, from the picture itself, the cause of the enthusiastic idolatry of the people. In front, therefore, and near the animal which is brought for the sacrifice, stands the cripple who has been cured, and who raises his hands in the act of thanking his benefactors. But it is also necessary that the painting should indicate both the infirmity he endured, and the miracle by which it was removed. The first is made clear by the two crutches which lie on the ground at his feet; the

second point, the restoration of his limbs, is explained by the following episode. An old man, incredulous of the miracle, cautiously approaches the poor cripple, and, with a look full of curiosity, lifts up the hem of his garment, to assure himself of the straightness of his legs. The whole figure speaks; his right hand expresses the curiosity of one who doubts,—his left shews his surprise.

Inexhaustible are the objects of admiration in this composition; such is the variety of characters, of sentiments, and of affections. In some we behold admiration and respect, in others, concealed hatred and incredulity.

Raphael, who could draw the noblest forms with a masterly hand, excelled equally in designing the most ignoble, as the lame beggar in this Cartoon, and the two cripples in one which will presently be described, testify. In this Tapestry, the inhabitants of the city of Lystra are about to offer divine honours to St. Paul and St. Barnabas; and it was necessary that the cause of this extraordinary enthusiasm, the restoring the limb of a cripple, should be explained, which, to any powers less than those of Raphael, would have been an insurmountable difficulty, for this reason. Painting, having only the command of one single moment of time, if we take the instant before the performance of the miracle, how can

we shew that it ever took place? If we adopt the instant after, how shall it appear that the man had ever been a cripple? Raphael chose the latter; and by throwing the now useless crutches on the ground, giving the man the uncertain and staggering attitude of one accustomed to be supported, and still, in some degree, doubtful of his newly acquired power, and also by the uncommon eagerness with which he makes him address his benefactors, he points out both the gratitude of him who had been restored, and the occasion of it. Then, still further, as before mentioned, to do away any remnant of ambiguity, he introduces a man of respectable appearance, who, lifting up a corner of the patient's drapery, surveys with unfeigned astonishment the newly and perfectly formed limb, in which feeling he is also joined by others of the by-standers. Such a chain of circumstances is equal to a narrative in clearness, and infinitely superior, in force; and would have done honour to the inventor in the happiest æra of painting in Greece.

ST. PAUL PREACHING AT ATHENS.

The subject of St. Paul preaching at Athens has more than once exercised the talent of Raphael. Many of these designs exist, which we may regard as precursors of the great and fine composition of this Tapestry, in which we recognize all those excellencies which lead us to attribute the sole execution of it to this great master. Here he shines conspicuously in the wisdom and amplitude, the richness and grandeur, the simplicity and elegance peculiar to him. A sketch drawn by him with a pen, and engraved by Marc Antonio, formed the basis of this Cartoon. Always ingenious in his choice of situations, Raphael has selected a space surrounded by beautiful edifices; the Apostle is elevated by standing on the steps of a temple; and around this tribunal his auditors have placed themselves in a circle, where the figures are disposed with uncommon skill, and much variety is introduced into the different groups. This arrangement, which separates the sacred orator by bringing him into the front of the picture, gives to his whole figure an augmentation of size; and thus dignifies the authoritative action by which he subdues his hearers.

There is no part of a composition which ought not to contribute to form for the eye an agreeable correspondence between the parts of the whole, by rendering the groups and their connections subordinate to the harmony of lines, or to what is called picturesque effect. This beautiful harmony, which charms our senses, and which Raphael possessed beyond all other painters, is yet, in the opinion of an eminent critic, but a secondary merit in his performances. In his works there is an order of combinations far superior; in his pictures we find a reason for the *motions* and *actions* of each character,—we may ask each person *what he thinks* and *how he feels*,—and may say with truth that the *ideas*, even the *affections*, are grouped, arranged, and contrasted in unison with the exterior forms.

In the circle of auditors, several groups, if we may thus denominate them, are to be remarked of opposite affections, whose alternate expression indicates all the dispositions of the human mind.

Behind the Apostle are three men, whose deportment and countenances betray simple admiration. The party of men, seated near the orator, discover, by their manifest agitation, the discordance of their opinions. Next comes a group, at the head of which stands a figure,

whose attitude, attention, look, and head slightly bowed, denote a conviction which penetrates his very soul: this is the belief of the heart. Next to him are old men: one of them, with his head and his hands leaning on his crutch, listens, but, with obstinacy and hard-heartedness. His neighbour seems to fear being convinced. The passionate admiration, and devotion of perfect conviction, are portrayed by the most affecting signs in the persons grouped at the other extremity of the picture, with the female figure, who, on this side, terminates the composition. The Cartoon of St. Paul preaching at Athens is, of itself, a school of art, in which the student may find most of the principles of historical invention, composition, and expression, displayed in characters of fire, not addressed to the eye or imagination only, but also to the understanding and the heart. This will be more sensibly felt, and the merit of the painter more clearly understood, if we compare his work with another on the same subject, by Jacopo Bassano, in which that artist has, as usual, contrived to leave out all that dignifies, all that interests, all that characterises, and all that renders the story peculiarly proper for the pencil. As he knew St. Paul was but a man, he perhaps thought any man might be St. Paul; and, taking the first "unwashed artificer" that came in his way,

set him up as a model for the Apostle, whom he consequently represents as destitute of majesty, grace, action, or energy, and drawling out what no person attends to, or can believe worthy of attention. How different, on the same occasion, was the conduct of Raphael. He took into consideration, not the real person of the saint, which is said not to have been of the most imposing class, but the intellectual vigour of his character, the importance of his mission, and the impression that ought to be made on the beholder. And as a painter cannot make his hero speak like a great man, he knew it was his duty to render his mind visible, and to make him look and act like one; we accordingly find him on a raised platform, in a pre-eminent situation, equally commanding his audience and the spectators, with parallel outstretched arms, in an attitude, at once simple, energetic, and sublime, thundering with divine enthusiasm against the superstitions and abominations of the heathen, and seeming, in the language of the prophet, to call on heaven and earth to bear witness to the truth of his doctrine.

Instead of Athens, the university of the world, abounding with statues, adorned with all that is elegant and magnificent in architecture, and displaying on every side marks of unrivalled opulence, and the most refined taste, Bassano

presents us with three or four miserable huts, unworthy even of the name of a village: and, for audience, we have a few half naked peasants of the lowest class, with their wives and children, suited however, it must be confessed, to the preacher, to whom they pay, at least, as much attention as he deserves;—that is, they neither hear nor see him, but proceed quietly with gathering apples, pressing grapes, shearing sheep, or pursuing their other usual employments. This artist painted what he saw admirably well, but he saw with his *eye only*. Destitute of imagination, insensible to the place, nature, extent, and importance of his subject, he could not, like Raphael, transport us to Greece, and set us down in the midst of an assembly of philosophers; he could not penetrate their minds, discriminate their characters, nor, by their different expressions of curiosity, meditation, incredulity, contempt, and rankling malice, enable us, with no great assistance from fancy, to distinguish the Stoic, the Cynic, the Epicurean, the Jew Rabbi, and others appropriate to the occasion. We do not, as in the Cartoon, see one touched, another confounded, a third inflamed, and a fourth appalled by the irresistible force of that eloquence, which, in the full conviction of Dionysius and Damaris, manifests its ultimate success,

ensures the downfall of polytheism, and the final triumph and establishment of Christianity. Such are the powers of the pencil when under the direction of a comprehensive mind; but it behoves every artist to *measure his wings, before he takes his flight*; to appreciate his powers, before he chooses his subject; otherwise, the greater the attempt with inadequate abilities, the greater and more ridiculous will be the failure. This may be seen in Bassano, who, in painting brass pots, copper kettles, and even men and women of the lowest class in their ordinary employments, has scarcely an equal; and whose pictures, where nothing higher is attempted, though not calculated to live in description, afford great pleasure to the sight, by the freshness and harmony of the colouring, the spirit of the touch, and the illusive truth of the general effect.

No supernumerary figures or ornaments ought to be brought into a picture. A painter's language is his pencil: he should neither say too little, nor too much; but go directly to his point, and tell his story with all possible simplicity. Rather than insert any thing superfluous, he ought to leave something to the imagination. These rules are finely attended to in all the Cartoons, and in no one more strictly than in that before us. In this admirable

composition the expressions are just and delicate throughout; even the back ground is not without its meaning; for it is expressive of the superstition St. Paul was preaching against. But no historian or orator can possibly give me so great an idea of that eloquent and zealous Apostle as that figure of his does. All the fine things related as said or written by him cannot go further. I see a person, face, air, and action, which no words can sufficiently describe, which assure me, as much as such attributes can, that *that* man must speak good sense, and to the purpose. And the different sentiments of his auditors are also as finely expressed. Some appear to be angry and malicious; others to be attentive, and reasoning upon the matter within themselves, or with one another; and one apparently is convinced. These last are the free-thinkers of that time, and are placed before the Apostle: the others are behind him, not only as caring less for the preacher or the doctrine, but in order to raise his apostolic character, which might lose something of its dignity, if his maligners were supposed to be able to look him in the face.

THE DEATH OF ANANIAS.

Among the seven Cartoons at Hampton Court, Ananias struck dead by the words of St. Peter, appears one of those, which we may think, with Vasari, that Raphael alone could have touched. Besides, to the indications which have been already mentioned, and which the connoisseur attributes to the circumstance of Raphael's designs having been partly executed by different hands, may we not add the preference, which the artist himself may be supposed to have felt, in the choice of those subjects which he reserved for his sole execution? And this Cartoon is eminently distinguished by all the qualities which constitute and mark the genius of painting.

The poetic talent of the painter is composed of various excellencies; and one of the most rare is to catch, in each scene, *the living interest of the subject*.

This strikingly appears in the group of Apostles. These fishermen, who left their nets to become messengers of the Gospel, no where present to us a character of so much simplicity, united with divine authority, as in the subject

before us. St. Peter appears indeed to be the Apostle whom the Master has chosen for the head of his spiritual legation. Inspired by the Holy Ghost, he pronounces sentence on Ananias. The sternness in his attitude, and in his attire, the severity of his look and of his countenance, the composed but energetic action of his gestures, all announce the interpreter of divine vengeance. We hear him say, "*Thou hast not lied unto men, but unto God.*" He has spoken, and the punishment follows. The Apostle, who stands near him, holds up his right arm; and his finger pointing to heaven, shews whence issued the decree of death. Nothing can be more conducive to the illustration of the subject, and its picturesque effect, than the platform upon which the Apostles are elevated. The back ground of the recess where they stand, poor and simple like themselves, has no other ornament than stuff, which hangs in folds. This is the place allotted to the reception of offerings, and the distribution of alms or gifts among the believers.

The principal action cannot be better explained than it is by the circumstance of time, of place, and of persons. On the right side of the platform we see Christians approaching, some with money, others with merchandize of various goods, which they are going to lay

at the feet of the Apostles. On the left, we witness the distribution among those who stand beyond the balustrade, which encloses the recess. Two Apostles are engaged in this office; one holds a bag of money, the other has taken from it what he is giving to a man, who extends both hands, and appears to ask for more. The middle of the fore ground, and what is called the principal scene of the picture, is occupied by Ananias struck with death, and fallen on the floor. We cannot too much admire the manner in which this fall is delineated. That it was violent cannot be mistaken; the attitude of the whole figure, especially of the head, expresses this; and we also see too that it was sudden. Raphael alone had the secret of portraying the *successive events of an action*, though painting can seize *but one rapid instant*. When a figure is on the ground, the painter cannot tell us how long it has been there, nor how long it will retain its present situation. Any other artist would have made the figure lean on its right hand: here the right hand is turned back; it is upon the wrist only that the body leans, in a position which cannot be lasting. We feel that, in another moment, the body will fall entirely. The two figures behind Ananias, are designed to explain to the spectator the crime which has been punished.

One, pointing to the Apostles, reproaches Ananias with having deceived them; the other, by the attitude of his body, and of his arms, which seem to speak, expresses these words,—“Thou hast deceived, thou hast deserved this.” The terror inspired by this sudden punishment, is forcibly shewn in the young man, who draws back with affright. But words can convey no idea of such excellence; it is sufficient if they recall this composition to those who know the engraving, and inspire those who do not with a wish to admire it.

In the Cartoon of Ananias, (19) at the first glance, and even before we are made acquainted with the particulars of the subject, we become partners of the scene. The disposition is amphitheatrical, the scenery a spacious hall, the heart of the action is in the centre, the wings assist, elucidate, and connect it with the ends. The apoplectic figure before us, is evidently the victim of a supernatural power inspiring the Apostle; who, on the raised platform, with threatening arm, pronounces, and, with the word, enforces his doom. The terror, occasioned by the sudden stroke, is best expressed by the features of youth and middle age on each side of the sufferer. It is instantaneous, because its shock has not yet spread beyond them; and this is done, not to interrupt the

dignity due to the sacred scene, but to stamp the character of devout attention on the assembly. What preceded, and what followed, is equally implied in their occupation, and in the figure of a matron entering, and absorbed in counting money, whilst she approaches the fatal centre; her we may suppose to be Sapphira, the accomplice, and the wife of Ananias, and the devoted partner of his fate. In this composition of near thirty figures, none can be pointed out as *common place*, introduced for *mere convenience*. The figures are linked to each other, and to the centre by one common chain; all act, and all have room to act; repose alternates with energy.

As a picture, as before mentioned, can represent but one instant of time, no action should be attempted which cannot be supposed to be carried on at that very instant. In the death of Ananias, the moment of his fall is chosen before the by-standers were apprised of it, and nothing is represented but what might be supposed to be going on at that precise point of time. It has been attempted by some painters of eminence, to crowd into composition a whole series of history, and a long space of time. But there must be one *principal action* in a picture; a maxim, however, that does not oppose the rule

now expressed. Raphael has, in many instances, admitted under-actions going on at the same time with the principal act, which it may be proper to insert, in order to illustrate or amplify the composition; but he does not allow them to divide the picture, nor to divert the attention of the spectator, nor to produce ambiguity. In the case before us this rule is observed in an episode, where there are some people offering money, and others receiving it; who are so intent upon what they are about, as not to seem to know any of the amazing events before them. Still their presence does not interfere with the principal action.

THE EARTHQUAKE.

This Tapestry is the narrowest composition of the whole series, and represents the delivery of St. Paul and Silas from prison. Its name is derived from the earthquake, which shook the foundation of the building. The artist has endeavoured to render it ideally visible to the spectator, by placing a gigantic figure, one half of which appears to be raising the superincumbent weight with his shoulders. The attempt is not altogether successful.

When Raphael painted his large pictures in the apartments of the Vatican, during the Pontificate of Leo the Tenth, he ornamented the spaces under the windows with small histories in chiaro-scuro, illustrated with subjects relating to that Pope, from the time of his being appointed Legate, to his Pontificate. One of these is his own escape, at the interval when his brothers, Pietro and Giuliano, (1474,) fled from Florence; which he effected by concealing himself under the ash-coloured cowl of a Franciscan, having laid aside his Cardinal's purple; for Giovanni Dei Medici, afterwards Leo

the Tenth, was then Cardinal Deacon of Santa Maria, and Legate of all Tuscany; as Onuphrius Panuvinius informs us in his life. We learn also from the print of this subject, given by Bartoli, that he escaped safe in consequence of a tumult, occasioned by the people's confusedly running to and fro. This tumult is said to have been caused by an earthquake, which is represented by the gigantic figure, whose "look and attitude are terrible," as Mr. Richardson observes.

The idea of a giant's causing an earthquake, by heaving up the incumbent earth with his utmost force, he, without doubt, received from the Enceladus of Virgil; who, as often as he turned himself, shook all Sicily.

The giant has been engraved, and is to be found in Rogers's "*Collection of Prints after the old Masters.*"

THE LAME MAN RESTORED BY ST. PETER AND ST. JOHN.

We may also suppose that in the choice of subjects, in the manner of delineating them, and in the accessories he introduced, Raphael often considered the effect they would have in Tapestry work; an art, which displays advantageously richness in embroidery and ornaments, and splendour in architectural decorations. This intention may perhaps, to a certain extent, explain the whole of the particular composition of St. Peter and St. John restoring the Lame Man at the beautiful gate of the Temple. I have said *particular composition*, because, to speak correctly, the scene passes under the portico, and the figures are placed in a novel situation; for the pillars are before them, and divide the scene into as many parts as there are intercolumniations: and it is in the middle intercolumniation that the principal action is developed. This singularity in the composition, which seems to convert an accessory into a principal, is explained by an examination of the Tapestry itself. No one of these designs appears more attractive to the eye, or produces

a more brilliant effect. We may attribute this to the wonderful richness of the columns, which are chiselled into twisted channels, and adorned with gilded circlets; the splendour of which is represented by the Tapestry-artists with admirable correctness.

We are inclined to attribute to Giulio Romano a considerable share in the execution of this Cartoon, wherein are unquestionably distinguished many noble and beautiful figures; but the attention is principally engrossed by the contrast between them and the two lame beggars, whose frightful reality seems an ideal representation of all the deformities which can afflict a human being: but such as they are, we find continual instances of such exposed in the streets and squares of Rome. The St. Peter and St. John healing the Cripple, is, in all the parts of its execution, a much more perfect work than any of the others; the zest of character and forms is very exquisite; the shaded parts are broad, tender, and well expressed, happily softened by the reflex lights on their extreme edges, which give them a fine taste of rilievo and convexity.

The very noble and urbane air of all the other heads is admirably set off by the heads of the two cripples, which, though of a more gross and less sentimental physiognomy, have nothing

mean in them; but, on the contrary, are large, grand, and important, though composed of parts more material than spiritual. Peter's foot is admirable for its Titianesque colouring, as well as for its form. The cripple's hand and wrist are also of an exquisite style of drawing, and even the ornaments on the twisted columns are of a masterly and beautiful execution.

ELYMAS STRUCK BLIND BY ST. PAUL.

This Sorcerer opposed the preaching of St. Paul, and endeavoured to deter the Proconsul from embracing the Christian religion.

Raphael has treated the subject in a style which was familiar to him. A certain correspondence between the masses of a picture produces a harmony of hues, generally agreeable to the eye, because it has the effect of rendering the comprehension of the whole more clear and more agreeable, and, we may add, also, more appropriate, when the scene is in the interior of a building, where the architecture, necessarily symmetrical, forms the back ground.

Here the scene of action is the Prætorium, in the middle of which we behold a recess, where the tribunal of the Proconsul is elevated ; and this recess, in which the Judge, with his assistants, appear, divides the scene, the actors, and the spectators, into two groups. On one side stands St. Paul, whose threatening gesture announces that he has just obtained vengeance from above, against the enemy of God ; on the other, and opposite to St. Paul, advances the Sorcerer Elymas, who has just lost his sight.

The effect of this sudden blindness is wonderfully represented by the most expressive signs. We cannot imagine an event more certain. The unhappy man, in profound darkness, extends his hands, seeks a supporter, and walks cautiously. The Proconsul and his assistants are struck with astonishment.

“ Elymas is *blind all over*; his feet are inclined inwards, like one who is groping in the dark. Terror and astonishment are admirably expressed by all the people present, but variously, according to their several characters. It does not appear that the Proconsul Sergius was converted; otherwise that is announced by the inscription, nor could that important circumstance have been expressed so properly in any other way. He has a greatness and grace superior to his character, and equal to what one can suppose Cæsar, Augustus, Trajan, or the greatest amongst the Romans, to have had.” (*Richardson.*)

“ There is nothing feeble or defective in the Cartoon of Elymas, except perhaps in the figure advancing to look at him. The marble back ground has great variety and gusto; the Lictor’s head in the light, and the profile head pointing to Elymas, are excellently well rendered as to execution, verity of effect, and even hue of colour.” (*Barry.*)

NOTES.

(1) There are no fewer than seven compositions to be found in Landon, all assigned to Raphael, not one of which however corresponds with the Tapestry. There is, indeed, no subject which has more frequently exercised the talents of the artist, nor which has excited equal interest. Raphael has herein evinced his varied powers, by adding grace and novelty to one which we might otherwise have supposed exhausted.

(2) This thought is doubtless taken from the bright emanations occasionally in the Holy Scriptures said to issue from Divine personages, of which Raphael has also availed himself, in his delivery of St. Peter from prison. The present instance, in which the countenance of the Redeemer is "as the sun shining in his strength," (Rev. i. 16.) is an effect which has been occasionally produced by later painters; but no where so successfully as in the "Notte" of Correggio, and in the window of the New College, by Reynolds.

(3) One of these Raphael has introduced as a bag-piper. He is a Calabrese shepherd; who, like others from his native province and their successors, to the present time, in the winter months, at Christmas more especially, play about Rome. They always finish the day with caroling the Virgin, placed in some one of the niches in the street; many of their airs are of unrivalled simplicity and beauty.

(4) The elegance and dignity of the Madonna before us, are augmented by the bright circlet, a modification of the nimbus that surrounds her head, denoting celestial alliance. It is an ornament which, from high antiquity, is expressed on works of art under various forms, and is alluded to by classical writers. The nimbus was early adopted by Christian artists;—among these the earliest use of it was restricted to the Redeemer, the Virgin, the Angels, and the Apostles. In the fifth century it was applied to Saints, to certain animals, as the Phoenix, a symbol of Eternity; to the Lamb, as that of Christ; and to the four animals by which the Evangelists are allegorized. The circlet here introduced, is that which Christian antiquaries style the “*Corona lucida*,” and it has been seldom departed from by the artists of later times. When used for Christ on the cross, the head rests upon a small Greek cross placed within the circlet; on other occasions the circlet is vacant.

(5) “ We can best account for the manner and affectation of Guido, who, understanding the term beauty in too confined a sense, thought he was, of course, to paint, on every occasion, the handsomest woman possible; and taking, accordingly, in *his* opinion, the most beautiful antique statue for his model, he constantly repeated in his works the same face, without variation of expression or character, whatever was the subject, situation, or action represented, whether a Venus or a Milkmaid, the Assumption of the Virgin, or the Death of Cleopatra. This subject has also been the stumbling-block of the French school, to which it owes the larger share of its absurdity and insipidity, its consumptive languor, and its coquettish affectation.” (*Opie. Lect. 1.*)

(6) Many who would trace Christian usages to a heathen

origin, tell us that the prototype of the Madonna, and her Son, is to be found in the goddess Isis, with the infant Horus in her arms, as expressed in some of the Egyptian coins. How much better would it be to search no further than into the bosom of a mother, for one of the tenderest impulses of nature. Painters and sculptors, among the ancient Christians, have represented the Virgin and Child in two manners; in the Latin Church she is generally seen sitting with the infant in her lap, as in that now adverted to; in the Greek Church she is portrayed standing, with the child in her arms.—The sable Lady of Loreto, (the work of the Evangelist, St. Luke, as all the black Madonnas are,) who travelled thither in her house from Palestine, an. 1291, is so represented. (*Notizie della santa casa*, C. 14. P. 51.)

(7) Raphael has followed the general rule of making Joseph an old man. Whether he was so or not at the birth of Christ, was early questioned in the Romish Church. References to the many authors whom the subject has interested, are to be found in the “*Notizie intorno alla nascita del Redentore*,” &c. (C. 17. P. 59.—*Stamperia Vaticana*. 1788.)

(8) The greatest beauty in the countenance of Raphael's Madonna's, is to be found in the mouth; but the origin of the infinitely varied sensation and mental susceptibility which this feature is capable of expressing, is not *solely* to be referred to the external organ. Would we know if it arises from the simplicity of virtue, or if it is the result of artifice and affectation, nature, a faithful consulting friend, will teach us how to identify the one, and to detect the other. Grace has its principal residence in the mouth, which, as one of the moveable features, is greatly under

our own command, and will, by long and fixed habit, obey the dictates of the mind whose impress it bears. Hence, is not the cultivation of sweetness of temper, that essential ingredient in all happiness, the most effectual means of securing the beauty of this feature, and of thus rendering it the indication of the lovely and moral qualities delineated in the Holy Virgins of Raphael?

(9) In looking over these Tapestries, I discover, what I conceive to be deviations from the original designs, probably introduced by the weavers. In the present, the dignity of the composition is impaired by the vulgar familiarity of having a monkey and her cub perched upon the back of the elephant. In Mr. Hoare's Cartoon, the back ground is plain; in the tapestry it is architectural.

(10) This use is still continued, and hence is explained the line from Virgil:—

“ *Purpurea intexti tollant aulæa Britanni.*

“ Nam Augustus postquam vicit Britanniam plurimos de captivis quos adduxerat, donavit ad officia theatralia, dedit etiam aulæa, *id est* velamina in quibus depinxerat victorias suas et quæmadmodum Britanni ab eo. donati eadem vela portarent quo re verâ portare consueverant, quam rem mira expressit ambiguitate, dicens ‘intexti tollant.’ Nam in velis ipsi erant picti qui eadem vela portabant,” &c. &c. &c. *Servius Georg.* 3. 1. 25. Hangings interwoven with figures, or plain, were much used by the Greeks and Romans, both for use and ornament, in their temples, houses, palaces, and theatres. They were suspended over many of the doorways of the latter, and are to be seen in several of the designs of the Vatican Terence, in the same manner as they at present are suspended over the portals of the Churches in Rome,

and are lifted up by attendants as you enter ; once, perhaps, the humiliating employment of the British captives.

(11) The powers of Raphael in combining the drama with pure historic fact, are best estimated when compared with those exerted by other masters on the same subject. For this, we select, from the series, that which represented the Massacre, as it is called, of the Innocents, or of the Infants at Bethlehem. On this subject, Baccio Bandinelli, Tintoretto, Rubens, Le Brun, and Poussin, have tried their various powers.

The Massacre of the Innocents, by Baccio Bandinelli, contrived chiefly to exhibit his anatomical skill, is a complicated tableau of every contortion of human attitude and limbs that is short of dislocation. The expression varies between a studied imagery of frigid horror, and loathsome abomination. The stormy brush of Tintoretto swept individual woes away in general masses. Two immense wings of light and shade divide the composition, and hide the want of sentiment in tumult. To Rubens, magnificence and contrast dictated the actors of the scene ;—a loud lamenting dame, in velvet robes, with golden locks dishevelled, and with extended arms, meets our first glance. Behind, a group of steel-clad satellites open their rows of spears to admit the nimble, naked ministers of murder, charged with their infant prey, within their ranks, ready to close against the frantic mothers who pursue them. The pompous gloom of the palace in the middle ground, is set off by cottages and village scenery in the distance. Le Brun surrounds the allegoric tomb of Rachel with rapid horsemen, receiving the children whom the assassins tore from their parents' arms, and strews the field with infant slaughter. Poussin combined, in one vigorous group, what he

conceived of blood-trained villany, and maternal frenzy; whilst Raphael, in dramatic gradation, disclosed all the mother through every image of pity and of terror, through tears, shrieks, resistance, revenge, to the stunned look of despair; and traced the villain from the palpitations of scarce initiated crime, to the sedate grin of veteran murder. (*Fuseli, L. 3.*)

Had Chambray been taught in a better school, he would have known that “*nelle opere pubbliche degli antichi non veggonsi mai esprese passioni smoderati e violenti, e può questa osservazione servir’ di norma a discernere i lavori degli impostori, dai veri antichi monumenti.*” (*Winkelman Storia dell’ art. &c. T. 1. 341. Edit. Rom. 1783.*) The learner cannot be too strictly cautioned against the use of a pernicious book, too often put into his hands.—“*Le Brun’s Passions.*”

(12) The following explanation is given by Richardson; “*Raphael has often followed the great example of the ancients, who filled their works as little as possible with things inanimate, but made out their story by human figures, where that could be done, though, for the sake of that, they took liberties with nature itself; making several people coming out of a house too little to hold one single figure, and the like seeming absurdities; and this is a sufficient and true answer to the objection every body makes to the boat in the Cartoon at Hampton Court.*” (*Account of some of the Statues, Bas-reliefs, &c. V. 1. P. 240.*)

(13) There is a finely painted picture on this subject, by Titian. The dress of the disciples is anachronical; one is in a Venetian habit, the other in that of a Friar, with his beads. A Venetian cook is in attendance.

(14) "After the Lord had spoken unto them, he was received up into heaven." (*St. Mark*, c. 16. v. 19.)

May we not thus *idealize* their grateful and astonished sensation?

"The Angel ended—and in Adam's ear

"So charming left his voice, that he awhile

"Thought him still speaking, still stood fix'd to hear."

(*P. L. b. 8. l. 1.*)

(15) The Basilicæ of heathen Rome were constructed for several public purposes, and more particularly for the administration of law proceedings. The first dates between the years 533 and 564, A. U. C. They differed, as to form, from the ancient temples, in having the columns on the inside, opposite to the great entrance, and terminating in a semi-circular tribunicial seat, whence princes or magistrates heard and determined causes. The Basilicæ will be best understood from Vitruvius, (L. 5. C. 1.) wherein he gives an account of one he had built at Fano. (*Fanum fortunæ.*) Victor enumerates 19, many of which became places of Christian worship; and he says that, from the commodiousness of their shape, the early churches were imitations of them. (*Nardini*, L. 5. C. 4) Basilicæ prius vocabantur *regum habitacula*, unde et nomen habent: nunc autem idè Basilicæ divina templa nominantur, quia ubi Regi omnium, Deo, cultus et sacrificia offeruntur." (*Isid. L. 5. Arig.*)

The name of Basilica as a Christian church, is found (perhaps, for the first time,) in St. Ambrose (*Epis. 37. ad Marcellinum de tradendis Basilicis.*) The great churches in Rome, on which this distinction is now conferred, are 7, as follows: St. Pietro, in Vaticano; St. Giovanni, in Laterano; Sta. Maria Maggiore; Sta. Croce, in Gerusalemme; St. Sebastiano fuori della Porta Capena; St. Paolo in Via

Ostiense; St. Lorenzo fuori delle mura. The privileges exclusively attached to these churches, and which, by Papal allowance, are occasionally conceded to others, it is foreign to my purpose to detail. The semi-circular termination of the Eastern extremity of our churches was long continued; and what had before been seats of justice, was converted into a throne for the Bishop in the centre, with seats for the Presbyters on each side. The altar was placed forward in front of the former; and, being insulated, the officiating priest, in the celebration of the Eucharist, elevated the host with his face turned to the congregation. Before the inclosed quire was permitted, there was, in the space, an oblong Septum, in which were stationed the Chorus Cantorum; and it was built so low as not to obscure or interfere with the architectural proportions of the structure. It was called the *ambo*, from its having on each side an ascent, on which was a desk, one for reading the Gospel, the other for the Epistle. These arrangements are still to be seen in many of the ancient churches in Rome.

The semi-circular termination of the Cathedral at Norwich, determines the Basilic form; the central arch within it marks the space for the Bishop's throne, and those on each side for the Presbyters. The removal, in all probability, took place when the present quire was made; the Gothic style of which marks a period long subsequent to the original building. In consequence of some alterations which took place in the chancel about sixty years ago, the altar was no longer insulated, but was removed backward against the arches of the tribune, as it now is.

The Arcus triumphalis is the great arch which separates the nave of a church from the chancel; for as the triumphal arches in heathen Rome were adorned with military trophies, allusive to the deeds of the Emperor to whom they were respectively dedicated, so was this decorated with

Christian triumph. "In antiquis et præcipuis ecclesiis illud
 "constanter servatum est, ut arcus *iste triumphalis Musivo*
 "præsertim opere pingeretur; quod aperta ænimus in
 "Basilicis vetustissimis St. Pauli et St. Laurentii, et St.
 "Prædixis; atque in aliis urbis ecclesiis similis arcus fuisse
 "facillimè deduci potest, sed tempore injuriâ dirutos."
 (*Ciampini Vet. Monum. T. 1. P. 199.*)
 (16) Nulla può vedersi di più volgare e vile che la sem-
 bianza d'alcune teste di Gesù Christ. Non così però pensò
 Raffaello. (*Winkelm. Stor. dell' art. L. 5. C. 1.*)

(17) In the stupendous ancient copy, in Somerset House, the head of the Redeemer (as even in Morghen's, and other engravings, by celebrated masters,) is defective. In the present mutilated condition of the original, however, there was, only a few years ago, a sufficiency of expression and sublimity remaining, to allow Mr. Phillips to finish the only satisfactory drawing from it I ever saw.

Before I quit this note, I must point out a successful delineation of the Redeemer, by a painter little known in this country, and who, in other respects, is not to be mentioned either with Raphael or Leonardo. It is the performance of Carlo Rubini da Crema, and is to be seen in the Church of Sta. Maria di St. Celso, at Milan. Christ is receiving the Blessing of his Mother previous to his Crucifixion. He is on his knees before her, his arms are crossed upon his breast, and his head somewhat inclined downwards; while, with a look of awfulness and maternal love, her right hand is extended over him. There are six other figures. The whole subject is conceived with truth, and is so skillfully and naturally treated, as to move the affections of the beholder, and elevate his mind above earthly objects, in a very extraordinary manner.

(18) The sacrificial ceremony in this design, is taken from an ancient Bas relief since published by Bartoli. (*Admirand. Roman. Antiq.*)

(19) Mr. Walpole observes, " that it is remarkable that " one of the finest windows of the Chapel of King's College, Cambridge, is the story of Ananias and Saphira, " as told by Raphael in the Cartoons; probably the Cartoons " being consigned to Flanders for tapestry, drawings of " them were sent hither; an instance of the diligence of " our glass-painters in obtaining the best designs for their " work."

DISQUISITION.

PART I.

SUGGESTIONS

RELATIVE TO THE

CARTOONS.

IMPORTANT to the perfection of every science is an accurate acquaintance with the intellectual medium, through which alone its objects become known to us, and with those intellectual instruments, from which alike, in every science, truth is to be evolved. The following disquisitions are offered, with the hope of developing the talents and attainments of Raphael, as employed on the sublime subjects before us.

The proficiency which these evince, he derived from a species of intuitive aptitude, improved by an unwearied study of nature in her happiest moments, together with a comprehensive energy of mind, comprising all the effects of system and labour; thus qualifying him to emulate that excellence, which the sages of ancient

Greece comprise within the three great provinces of Beauty, the *material*, the *intellectual*, and the *moral*; the combination of which Plato has denominated the *Καλον*, a term of so extensive a meaning, as to involve not only the arts of design, but every subject in which right and wrong are concerned.

So closely is the *Καλον* allied to the genius and works of Raphael, as to justify the subjoined definition.

In every language there is a multitude of words which are sometimes used in a wider, and sometimes in a more restricted sense. Of this kind is the *Καλον* of the Greeks; the *pulchrum* of the Romans, and the words by which the same term is translated into modern languages. To whatever subjects this epithet is applied, it is always intended to signify that they give pleasure; and it is seldom applied to any subjects but to those which please by means of the impression made on the mind. As poetry always addresses itself to the imagination, every species of poetical excellence obtains the name of Beauty; but this term is often used in a very undefined sense. Visible forms are not *merely* occasions of pleasure in common with other objects; but *they produce* a pleasure of a peculiar kind, which results from what we denominate Beauty. If it be admitted, that the term of which we are

speaking was originally used in this restricted sense, it is easy to suppose it would soon obtain a more extended signification. For, though the species of pleasure might have its origin in images impressed on the eye, nothing could be more natural than to apply the same term to every pleasing image, intellectually conceived. If every beautiful form gave pleasure, every pleasing form would soon be called beautiful: thus, also, objects would obtain the name of beautiful, because the imagination is agreeably employed about them; and we speak of a beautiful character, as well as a beautiful person.

Now, as every representative art is capable of affording us pleasure, every pleasing production of art will of course obtain the name of beautiful. It is no objection to what has been said, that the objects we call beautiful, may also in some cases be the occasions of passion. The sight, for instance, of a beautiful person, may give birth to the passion of love; yet, to perceive the Beauty, and to feel the passion, are two different things. And the distinction between these feelings receives further confirmation from observing, that people frequently speak of Beauty in persons of their own sex, who feel perhaps no passion but that of envy; which will not surely be thought the same with the perception of Beauty; and indeed the most exquisite painting must be sur-

veyed with feelings similar to those of the artist who produced it, in order to appreciate its merit, a term, in this case, synonymous with Beauty.

By this term then, as it regards painting and sculpture, I understand the general and permanent principles of the visible objects of nature, not disfigured by accident nor distempered by disease, not modified by fashion nor by local habits. It is a collective idea; and, though its essence exists in each individual of the species, it is, in the human frame, that harmonious whole; that union of parts leading to one end, which thus delights us. The result of this standard is sanctioned by the great masters of the arts of design among the ancients, and confirmed by the verdict of modern preference.

Thus characterised, I will endeavour to explain the ground on which this excellence is founded.

When we philosophize on Beauty, and separate the delight which is in us from the cause of that delight which is without us, Beauty is simply that emotion which excites in us a certain delightful feeling. It is the mind that is the living fountain of Beauty; because it is the mind which, by reflection from itself, embodies in the object, or spreads over it, its own delight. Thus, when we speak of Beauty simply, we

speak of what we feel, without considering any thing more than the feeling itself. When we speak of the emotion of Beauty, we speak of a feeling with reference to the mind.

The pleasures of man are distinct from those of animals. God has connected the highest degree of pleasure with the exercise of the understanding. Man is a compound being, and hence enjoys the pleasures both of animal and intellectual nature. But *he* alone derives pleasure from truth, science, and the arts which embellish life ; and *he* alone possesses the ability of transmitting his attainments to posterity. In reference to the distinction between these pleasures and those of animals, it will be immediately admitted that the former are connected with anticipation or previous thought and knowledge, of which animals are *supposed* to be destitute. But it is still a question why anticipation, or previous thought, should confer a pleasure of which animals are destitute. The reply instantly suggested is, that knowledge is the object of intellect : whatever is associated with knowledge, (which is the case with the attainments above mentioned,) must necessarily be pleasing, since intellectual pre-eminence is the highest superiority that any individual derives from the splendour and dignity of his abilities. Hence, as the effort to acquire knowledge, and the investigation of

truth, are connected with the exercise of intellect, they are, for this reason, productive of pleasure. But why does the possession or attainment of knowledge itself please? The answer, I think, is, that every object of intellectual knowledge, besides refreshing the mind with perpetual novelty, possesses the character of Beauty, which is *Truth* itself; and, as such, from the constitution of man, produces pleasing impressions. Thus it is that the *Kalon* of the Greeks, and the *pulchrum* of the Romans, invariably convey the idea of something that produces pleasure; and, in the same manner, the imitative arts justly establish their claim to the character or epithet of beautiful.

It appears, then, that to ask why what is beautiful pleases; would be to require the definition of a *simple idea*, which every logician knows cannot be defined; for whatever is signified by a simple idea, can be known only by experience. Thus the idea implied in the word *green*, cannot be rendered intelligible to a blind man, because he possesses not the organ of sense by which he might have previously *experienced* the impression this colour is capable of producing. And, by obvious analogy, to ask why Beauty (the *Kalon* or the *pulchrum*) pleases, is to ask, why the Creator has determined, by a species of reciprocal harmony, that

the impression of external objects or qualities should be so adapted to the organ of sense, as to produce agreeable sensations? All that can be said, is, that the plastic power of the Creator has so adapted the forms of sensible or material objects, or that his wisdom has endowed them with such qualities, that the impression upon the specific external organ is conveyed to the sensorium, and there becomes a sensation pleasing or displeasing. Beauty, then, and the power of pleasing, may be considered as synonymous expressions, or identical ideas; making, however, allowance for what may be erroneous in the conception or imagination. Thus, whatever produces a pleasing or desired effect, may, by some *particular mind* on which the impression is made, be called *beautiful*, even should there be something in this effect contrary to the precepts of morality; for whatever should accord with the designs of a profligate or a selfish person, would be, in *his* estimation, beautiful.

The *Kalon*, or *pulchrum*, is then, in its best or most valued acceptance, to be contemplated in its association with the purposes of virtue; for otherwise the estimation of what is *beautiful*, might blend itself with what is destructive to the happiness of sentient and intelligent nature, an effect evidently excluded from the definition of Beauty. Vice, whatever might be

its power of pleasing, should, in the estimation of virtue, be viewed as an object of hatred, rather than of love, because its influence must eventually terminate in pain and misery. Gratification, as before observed, may sometimes be produced to a depraved imagination, by what is not beautiful; and hence the necessity of defining the *beautiful*.

Calling in the aid of Aristotle to that of Plato, I premise, that the system of each of these philosophers differs in fundamental points; that of Plato is, that in order to arrive at the knowledge of *things*, we must begin with *universals*, and descend to *particulars*. Aristotle, on the contrary, argues, that, from the knowledge of *things addressing the senses*, we arrive at the *knowledge of general and immaterial things*; yet, though these distinguished men set out by different roads, they finally meet at the same point, the aim of each being the attainment of truth and perfection; and the latter finely observes, that “purity of motive decides the merit of a moral action, and the degree of self-approbation that follows it; for that nothing is so beautiful to the eye as truth is to the mind.” And besides, the great principles of moral distinction are too deeply fixed in our breasts by our Divine Author, to allow approbation and pleasure to be attached to malignity, or with-

held from benevolence ; and where evil is admired, it is in consequence of some disproportionate admiration attached to some real or supposed accompanying good. Some have asserted, that our attachment to knowledge arises from its utility ; but this appears to be a position justly founded, only when the tendency of Beauty terminates in innocent or praiseworthy enjoyment. Hence, an action, to be beautiful, should possess that harmony of tendencies which constitutes the *system* from which arises the beautiful. If benevolence is exerted from a motive of mere utility to ourselves, it loses the character of Beauty, which constitutes its essence ; for not even *disinterestedness* is sufficient to the Beauty of virtue. We may be *benevolent* from natural affection, or from instinctive disposition ; but this, being destitute of the beautiful motives of consideration or thought, is not virtue. And thus pity, when, from the uneasy sensation it occasions to us, it operates without reflection, or approving judgment, is not virtuous, but merely instinctive. In short, an action, to be virtuous, must proceed from previous approbation, and thus acquire the character of beautiful ; it must (as Aristotle has expressed, by the term *προαίρεσις*,) include in it the preference of a *previous and deliberate election*, not the *effect of any sudden impulse*.

And so closely is the perception of Beauty *systematised*, that there is no Beauty in one single thing, independant of the parts of which the whole is composed; it is from the system or relation of the compound parts compared together, and from the harmony and proportion which we discern in these parts, that we derive the idea of Beauty.

Nor can truth, any more than Beauty, be limited to a single thing. Every philosopher, taught in the school of antiquity, will arrange, under some one of the general heads, the nature of the object he investigates, and will thence deduce its particular qualities, till he forms a complete definition. He must also determine what is that relation, whence arises the *system* or *related properties*; for it is in the perception of this relation, or connection of one thing with another, and forming a system, that the perception of Beauty consists. This definition equally includes the beauty perceptible in truth and science, as it does the higher manifestations of the arts of design, the primary object of this disquisition. Hence, as asserted by Plato, every thing, whether an individual species, or a genus, is one in many; but, in such a manner, that of the aggregate or many, one thing is the principal, or that to which all the component parts relate; and thus they form

one system, or that subserviency of parts, which produces one important result; and that result is *Truth*.

Neither ancient nor modern times can furnish a line more apposite to the present subject; than “*Rien n'est beau que le Vrai; et le Vrai est le seul aimable.*”—(*Despreaux.*)

The preceding reasoning also makes Beauty the source of pleasure in the *fine arts*; and this pleasure arises from the harmony of parts concurring to the production of a system. But it must be observed, that the more comprehensive the system, the greater the pleasure. This, however, depends upon the capacity and attainments of the critic; for the person of little comprehension, will be able to take in only a small part of the system, and will direct his attention to qualities of a minor consideration. If poetry be the object of his notice, he will limit himself to descriptions, similies, versification;—if painting, instead of admiring mental excellence and expansion, he will dwell on those points to which I have already assigned a subordinate rank. Nor will a critic, like Aristotle, peck at the surface of things, nor regard the petty cavils of petty minds. He will look at the great design the artist has in view, and tell you, that *power of intellect, purity of conception, with skilful, cha-*

racteristic delineation, produce an approximation to the *Καλον*, and are to be contemplated as unerring indications of a noble and virtuous mind. These are the endowments which identify a Raphael.

DISQUISITION.

PART II.

HAVING defined the term “*Καλον*,” with its qualities and tendencies, I proceed to the consideration of its conceived origin; of its alliance with the imitative arts, and of the advances towards the attainment of it, as they are exemplified in the works of Raphael, now under illustration.

Admitting the ancient artists as *our* schoolmasters in the delineation of ideal Beauty, it is natural to ask, who were *theirs*? This is a question which involves the opinions of the philosophers, whose abstract ideas are personified in their divinities, and mediately communicated to the artists by their poets and mythologists. This leads to the development of the vague and laborious researches of these men on the formation of the world and the creation of man, together with the causes of his mental and bodily imperfections. The Greek philoso-

phers did not mean, by the name of God, an all-perfect being, of whom eternity, infinity, and omnipresence, were essential attributes; with them the word implied only an excellent and superior nature; accordingly, they gave the appellation of Gods to all beings, of a rank or class higher and more perfect than that of man; and especially to those who are inferior agents in divine administration, all subject to one supreme. These men themselves, according to their system, might become Gods after death; inasmuch, as their souls might attain to a degree of excellence, superior to that of which they were capable in life. It was promulgated by Plato (whose opinions were nearly the same as those of contemporary philosophers, as well as those of earlier date, and more particularly of Pythagoras), that there were two primary and incorruptible principles: one, *by* which all things *are* made, which is God; the other, *from* which they were made, which is matter. This substance was neither made nor produced, but presents itself before the great Artificer of the world (*Δημιουργος*) to receive whatever form and quality he pleases. To the first, the appellation of *mind* and *cause* has been given: the other, vast as it is, is without form, and has been collected and arranged by God, who preferred order to confusion. It was believed,

that there is in matter a stubborn and inbred propensity (*ξυμφυτος επιθυμια*) to disorder, over which the Deity himself has no control, which is the origin of evil, and the cause of all the imperfection; whether physical or moral, that appears in the works of God (1). Matter, therefore, resists the will of God, so that he cannot perfectly execute his designs; and hence the mixture of good and evil which is found in the world. Yet, although the Deity, in whom alone resides the perfection of beauty, was thus limited, the most perfect prototype (*παραδειγμα*) had eternally subsisted in his reason. Thus, it cannot be, that evil should be destroyed; for, in conformity with this hypothesis, there must always be something contrary to good; but God wills, as far as is possible, every thing good, and nothing evil. Plato farther asserts, that the soul of man is derived by emanation from God; that this emanation was not immediate, but through the intervention of the soul of the world (2), which was itself debased by some material admixture, as above conceived; and, consequently, that the human soul receding further from the first intelligence, is inferior in perfection to the soul of the world. He conceived the soul of man to be, in the material part of its nature, formed for conversing with sensible objects;

and, in its intellectual part, capable of spiritual contemplation: and that our highest good consists in the contemplation of the knowledge of the first good, which is mind, or God. All those things which are called good by men, as previously defined, are in reality such, so far only as they are derived from the first and highest Good, from whom, as their original, knowledge and truth proceed. As a general definition, goodness and beauty consist in the knowledge of the first good, and the first fair. In this pattern of all that is beautiful or excellent, he represents the *Καλον*, while the *αγαθον* is the standard of rectitude and goodness. Consistently with this theory, our gross bodies are variously moulded; and few of them are in unison with that harmony in which they were first contemplated by their Maker.

But it is not to these men alone that we are to refer for instruction, as to perfection in the delineation of general forms (3). Phidias conceived hints for his Jupiter from some lines of Homer; and a similar practice was adopted by contemporary artists. Socrates, the master of Plato, in conversation with Parrhasius, as reported in the *Memorabilia* of Xenophon, declares the impossibility of finding a single figure of a man faultless in all its parts, and of exact proportions. Aristotle, in his *Poetics*, directs

artists, who aspire to the attainment of sublimity and correctness, to make men, *not as they are, but as they ought to be*; and mentions Euripides as doing the former, and Sophocles the latter. They, however, allowed, that early instruction and example furnish opportunities of partial recovery from inherent evil, and that the soul is purified by virtue and philosophy.

The whole mind must be elevated and taken from created objects, to be able to bear the contemplation of the Deity, and of what is most conspicuous in him. The object is to convince us that absolute perfection is only in God, and not in any thing created. When the idea of a *real* good, (*τὸν ἀγαθόν*,) so difficult to be conceived, is at length obtained, it is to be looked on as the cause of all things which are beautiful and good, as creating light, and the sun, the dispenser of light in the visible world, and in the intellectual itself, the sun diffusing intelligence and truth. (*Plato Repub. L. 7.*)

In assigning the above theories, respecting the first cause and the formation of the world and created nature, to the master of Aristotle, *as a cosmogonist*, I must be understood with limitation. Plato, whose sublime conceptions of the first cause embellish almost every page of his writings, and prove the noble elevation of his

mind, is not to be censured for promulgating opinions which demanded higher attainments than the age in which he lived could admit; and these now detailed, are all that unassisted reason and shaded emanations from a purer source could communicate (4). One passage alone from his Republic, proves his mental superiority. "We are enabled to gain a glimpse from analogy of the transcendant nature of the Deity, by comparing him to the sun; for, as the sun not only imparts vision, but is the cause of generation, nutriment, and increase, so the good, through super-essential light, imparts being, and the power of knowing every thing that is the object of knowledge. The first being is thus an incomprehensible and inaccessible light, and is compared to the sun, upon which, the more attentively you look, the more you will be darkened and blinded, and only bring with you eyes overpowered with excess of light."

To delineate objects of the *material* world, as they present themselves to the eye, requires in the artist a command over his implements, together with diligence, equally unwearied and unremitting. To attain the *higher* excellencies of his profession, he must penetrate into the mental system, and impress each subject with

its characteristic peculiarity, whether in the more difficult state of repose (5), or varied by gesture, or agitated by emotion or passion. It is the combination of these powers which qualifies him for obtaining pre-eminence in ideal beauty, a term in common parlance almost exclusively limited to the higher departments of ancient sculpture; yet, considered in this manner, I cannot perceive how it admits of such an *exclusive* appropriation, but that *every* created being which becomes the subject of the artist's pencil, may be exhibited under that configuration which nature does not individually furnish, but which imagination confers, and experience assists him in perpetuating. We see this power in the highest attainable degree exemplified in the specimens of ancient statuary, with all their varied gradations of merit, from the Belvedere Apollo, to the Barberini Faun (6); a fine instance of ideal Beauty, also, but which does not pourtray that mental excellence which we admire in the former. Thus, considering *Beauty* as the proper end of art, and not confining the preference to *one* set of objects, I prefer applying it to whatever is most excellent in its respective character. We may, without confusion of ideas, speak of a beautiful individual, of whatever degree or quality; or of any piece of work, in which science or mechanism is em-

ployed, and in the delineation of all that is capable of displaying a high degree of human excellence and skill. Here we must stop; for every deviation from the pole of truth and nature, is alike retrograde: to generalize beyond the boundaries of character, to compose figures of no specific age, sex, or destination, with no predominant quality or particular end to be answered in their construction, is to violate propriety, to destroy interest, and lose the very essence of Beauty in nothingness and insipidity; for this reason it may be necessary to notice, that the term *ideal*, ill understood, like those of nature and beauty, has been, in modern times, especially, the source of great and grievous errors. The cast can only be fashioned after the mould which receives it. Without reference to quality or character, for "*ideal beauty*," therefore, I would substitute *ideal excellence*. As long as imagination exists, the pursuit after this, however unattainable the object, will always be progressive (7). In the same manner, to aim at perfection in Christian virtue, though it be equally beyond our reach in this life, is yet, with the wise and good, an unceasing point of emulation.

Thus considered, *ideal beauty*, or *ideal excellence*, rests not on fancy, but on truth and nature, or on that series of laws which God has

imposed on matter. "If taste has no fixed principles; if the imagination is not affected according to some invariable law, our labour is like to be employed to very little purpose, as it must be judged a useless, if not an absurd undertaking, to lay down rules for caprice, and to set up for a legislator of whims and fancies." (*Burke on the Sublime and Beautiful. Introduction, p. 8.*)

I do not regard the enquiry as *merely speculative*, by which we penetrate into the nature of man's intellectual part, and the mysterious connection between mind and body, but I view it as *practical*, since philosophy is not formed for artificial show or delight (8). This avowal does not prevent my asking, if man, among his varied excellencies, is not gifted with a supernatural power, which is independent of instruction, and fits him for promoting the great designs of the Deity. The gift to which I would allude, is *Intuition* (9), or an aptitude which manifests itself towards some particular pursuit, in preference to all others. It is often quiescent, is occasionally, and, at various periods, discovered accidentally, and is sometimes, even in early life, irresistibly manifested; it is capable of conferring, in an extraordinary degree, upon the mind that possesses it, the power of executing its own conceptions, a critical accuracy

in the appreciation of what is excellent in works of imagination, a ready perception of whatever is coincident with, or opposed to, the principles of beauty. This faculty is itself susceptible of improvement; it has a tendency, if judiciously applied, to adorn and benefit the human species; nor is it in any instance more obvious than in the fine arts. I remember one of our most distinguished musical professors, who, when little more than two years old, being placed on his mother's lap before the harpsichord, would run over the keys in a very pleasing manner, and who, if any one touched a false note, would shew signs of displeasure and uneasiness (10). A lady dresses out a jar of flowers; the little elegancies of her dressing-room are distributed with a studied negligence; any derangement in which, would invade the province of beauty, and throw them into unpicturesque confusion. The painter of still life disposes the objects of his pencil so as to communicate pleasure to the spectator; and it is to this power that we are chiefly to assign the location styled *Composition* in the higher departments of painting, whether displayed in a single figure, or in many; and in which, as before mentioned, Raphael, even to the minutest folds of his draperies, has pre-eminently excelled; but if asked why we are pleased with these har-

monious arrangements, or why delighted with the concord of sweet sounds, we can only reply, that Intuition, like other powerful energies of nature, is known to us only by its effects; and, after twisting the secret about with all possible acuteness and ingenuity, we are compelled at last to acknowledge, that how it acts, is as much concealed from us, as the divine essence whence it emanates (11). *This we know, that the Καλον is the result.*

God's omnipotence bears to every human power the same relation of awful superiority which his infinite wisdom and goodness bear to the humble knowledge and the virtue of his creatures. Our feeling of his greatness impresses the force of that omnipotence on our minds; such is the great charm of the celebrated passage in Genesis, descriptive of the creation of light. It is from stating nothing more than the antecedent and consequent, that the majestic simplicity of the description is derived; God speaks, and it is done. We imagine nothing intermediate; in our highest contemplation of his power, we believe that when he only willed creation, a world arose; the will is the only necessary previous power; and that Being has almighty power, whose every will is immediately and invariably followed by the existence of its object (12). As to Intuition, then,

though we cannot penetrate into its efficient, we may, I trust, without presumptuously invading the province of the Deity, and without lapsing into the errors of philosophical necessity (13), on the one hand, or intrenching upon the freedom of human will, on the other, enquire into its secondary causes, with an endeavour to account for the various aptitudes of this wonderful power—a power which exerts a wider range over us than we are commonly aware of.

How far the following hypothesis is to be admitted, as illustrative of the genius of Raphael, will rest with the reader to determine. Whatever powers are therein attributed to the operation of material substances, they must invariably be considered, not as having a real existence in these substances, but as deriving, in every instance, their energy from the pervading impulse of that Being to whose agency they must ultimately be referred. If we look through the world, we cannot fail to observe a wonderful power in unconscious particles of matter, by which they take their respective stations, so as to become organized arrangements, which arrangements proceed from the exercise of peculiar tendencies, ordained by supreme wisdom regulating matter. That Being which said, "Let there be light, and there was light," could also say, "Let the earth be formed," and passive

matter would instantly array itself, conformably to its destined purposes. We accordingly find that all created substances have distinct properties, which not only constitute their specific difference, or that which distinguishes one species from another, but which also discriminate each individual from every other of the same species. These properties must arise from organic principles, as just mentioned, constituting the essence or nature of each body, preserving its identity among the changes to which it is subject, and hence conferring upon it an independence unimpaired by extraneous matter. This extraneous matter must be received from the elements of other substances, among which these different bodies are accidentally placed; but what is thus derived to each animal, plant, or metal, even down to the crystallization of salts, from the influence of surrounding elements, will be such as is congenial with the nature of the particular body, to the growth or magnitude of which, this accession of adventitious, though congenial, matter contributes.

By this process, the effect of some unknown power, impressed by the Deity, similar, perhaps, to that of chemical affinity or attraction(14), such qualities only combine with each body, in the different stages of its growth, as are adapted to its particular nature, or to that

from which it derives its organic or first principles. Agreeably to this hypothesis, the mind is endowed with certain essential or fundamental aptitudes or properties, constituting its characteristic or distinctive nature, as is particularly exemplified in the works now under illustration. Raphaël, in accordance with this theory, seems to have been endowed with a faculty of such particular quality, as enabled him to discover with certainty, among the variety of surrounding circumstances, those cognate or congenial qualities, which each particular mind would attract to itself, and which, from the constitution of its nature, would combine with it in the formation and development of his character. Possessed of this faculty, then, in a degree exciting our astonishment and admiration, he could mark, with unerring accuracy, the boundary which separated each individual character from every other of the same species, and thus invest it with an unalienable individuality. But Raphaël not only faithfully adhered to the laws of consistency and truth, he possessed, likewise, the extraordinary power of imbibing the spirit of the characters he undertook to pourtray. This could be no otherwise effected than by that blending of his spirit with theirs, which enabled him to express, through the medium of his own mind thus

amalgamated, all the variety of thoughts and motives of each, and to render them visible to the spectator. This is the wonderful talent which enables the painter to invest his characters with a truth and integrity derivable from no other source. And it is this art in Raphael, the secret operation of which escapes our notice, that constitutes what is justly called nature. Such is the potency of his skill, although without apparent exertion; and such, in the application of the principles which form his characters, is the dominion he exercises over our feelings, that we view him as belonging to a higher order of beings. He is master of every avenue by which he can approach either our understandings or our hearts, exerting a plastic skill, fixing upon us whatever impression or form he pleases, whilst we are unconscious of his agency. In the works of Raphael there is no confusion; he separates the complicate from the simple, and places his objects as is most convenient to obtain the end required.

Thus, *method, or accurate arrangement of ideas*, as possessed by him, must not be classed with common or habitual exactness; it is that power which improves intuition, leads to minute and varied investigation, demanding a knowledge of the relation which things bear

to each other, and to the age and apprehension of the beholder; so that, in all his various characters, he makes us feel ourselves communing with the same nature. Every where we find individuality, yet no where mere portrait; for the excellence of his productions consists in a happy union of the universal with the particular. Raphael studied mankind in the idea of the human race; and he followed out that idea into all its varieties, by a rule which never failed to guide his steps aright. But the uneducated and unreflecting man overlooks mental relations, and, of course, precludes all method that is not purely accidental; and this, from the absence of any leading thought existing in the mind, whence proceeds a degeneracy into affectation, or something which is perverse or fantastical; a degeneracy from taste, which is not confined to painting, but is exemplified in the twisted forms of Bernini in sculpture, and the capricious outlines of Borromini in architecture. On the contrary, where the habit of method is present and effective, things remote and diverse in time, place, and outward circumstance, are brought into mental contiguity and succession.

In this manner did Raphael command those stores of natural and acquired knowledge, and rendered them disposable by means of his

intimate acquaintance with the great laws of thought, which form and regulate method. Being possessed of this quality, he could, with facility and certainty, mark the nicer demonstrations of the mind. Reflection and experience taught him to draw conclusions from them; and, aided by his skill in methodical arrangement, the display of his powers justly intitled him to the high distinction of the master of the human heart. Nay, so complete was this capability of transporting himself into the situation he undertook to pourtray, that he was enabled to represent individual characters, without the aid of those attributes, or any of those subsidiary explanations, which, as before mentioned, are not only adopted, but legitimated in the inferior schools. So comprehensive was his power, that he could, with equal truth and ease, grasp all the diversities of rank, sex, and age; representing, in the most accurate manner, the spirit of the people of various times and nations, as they became the subjects of his pencil.

Equally accurate and successful was he in the delineation of character, which we may term characterization. A style of character which is a personification merely of one broad, general idea, can neither exhibit any great depth, nor

variety. The names of genera and species, are mere auxiliaries for the understanding, that we may embrace the infinite variety of nature in a certain order. The characters which Raphael has delineated, possess a number of individual peculiarities ; but, at the same time, a signification which is not applicable to them alone. They generally supply materials for constructing a profound theory in the analyzation of their distinguishing properties. Yet, even here, this opinion must still have its limitations ; for characterization is merely one ingredient in the pictorial art, and not the art itself. It would be injudicious in the painter, were he to draw our attention to superfluous traits of character, when he ought to endeavour to produce other impressions. Whenever the fanciful or the mechanical predominates, the characteristical is thrown into the back ground.

If the delineation of Raphael's characters be separately considered, it is firm and correct ; he surpasses even himself in the *combination and contrast* (*the antithesis of painting*) of his characters, so that they serve to bring out each other. This is the very summit of characterization ; for we can never estimate a man altogether abstractedly, by *himself*, according to his true worth : we must see him in his relations with others ; and it is here that most painters

are deficient. Raphael makes each of his principal characters the glass in which the others are reflected, and in which we are enabled to discover what could not be immediately revealed to us. The gradations and shades of passion and sentiment are so skilfully mingled in his pieces, and the moral so broad and pure, that we perpetually recur to them as transcripts of human life, which never cease to instruct and interest the mind—never fail to soothe and satisfy the heart. In his delineations of nature, Raphael was skilled in the perception of every beautiful and characteristic form. As full of wisdom as the sublimest moralist, with all the elements of wisdom and morality most happily blended, he brings them out temperately and modestly; neither can we complain of him for want of strength and firmness. Yet, while every thing is poured forth with unmeasured abundance, and unequalled perfection, his exquisite conceptions and images are introduced with such skill, as merely to adorn and illustrate, without invading common sense; and every part of his picture is so justly kept in subordination, that no one ever unmethodically interferes with, disturbs, or takes place of another.

Genius is the power of reflecting nature. The mind of Raphael was as a magic mirror, in which all the forms and combinations he

undertook to delineate, were intuitively present, as native portions of his own humanity. Whatever his characters were besides, *they were also men; and such they were in the world of his imagination.* It is the harmony and correspondence between the world without, and the world within, that gives charm to his productions. His characters are not the mere abstractions of intellect from an understood class, or species, but are generated in his own mind, as individuals having personal habitation there; and this is what is meant by a *creative imagination.*

NOTES.

(1) The following compendious view is in this place applicable.

“ Original sin.” The early corruption and depravity of man’s nature in consequence of our first parents’ transgression, is a subject of complaint among the ancient heathen moralists, philosophers, and poets. Thus Pythagoras termed it “ the fatal companion, the noxious strife that lurks within us, and which was born along with us ;” Sopater called it “ the sin that is born with mankind ;” Plato, “ natural wickedness ;” Aristotle, the “ natural repugnancy of man’s temper to reason ;” and all the Greek and Roman philosophers, especially the stoics and platonists, complained of the depraved and degenerate condition of mankind, of their propensity to every thing that is evil, and of their aversion from every thing that is good. Thus Cicero lamented, that “ men are brought into life by nature, as a step-mother, with a naked, frail, and infirm body, and with a soul prone to divers lusts.” Seneca, one of the best of the Roman philosophers, observed, “ we are born in such a condition, that we are not subject to fewer disorders of the mind than of the body : all vices are in all

men, though they do not break out in every one; and, to confess them, is the beginning of our cure;" and Hierocles called this a "universal moral taint," "the domestic evil of mankind." Even some of the sprightliest poets bore testimony to the same fact, for Propertius could say, "every body has a vice to which he is inclined by nature." Horace declared, "that no man is born free from vices, and that he is the best man who is oppressed with the fewest;" that "mankind rush into wickedness, and always desire what is forbidden;" that "youth has the softness of wax to receive vicious impressions, and the hardness of rock to resist virtuous admonitions." (*Hartwell Horne's Critical Introduction*, Vol. 1.)

(2) The various opinions of the ψυχή του κόσμου, are detailed by Ogilvie. "It was conceived by Cicero, as a soul that actuates the external orb of the world, in the same manner as the human mind animates every part of the body that is assigned to it, and promotes its own purposes by the instrumentality of the organ of sense."

Plato taught, that, at death, the human soul is re-united to the soul of the world, as to the source whence it originally came. It is a remarkable circumstance, that he left no express treatise on the subject of the Beautiful. The greater Hippias (so called to distinguish it from a dialogue of the same name which is shorter,) is written for the purpose of gradually unfolding the nature of *the Beautiful*, as existing in the soul. It conceives that beauty which first subsists in *the soul of the world*, and which, in the Platonic language, is the *Monad* of all souls, is thence imparted to all the subsequent orders of souls.

(3) When Phidias formed his statue of the Olympian

Jupiter, he was asked whence he borrowed the idea? His reply was, from three lines of the Iliad.

Η, καὶ κινεῖσθω—κ, τ, λ. A. 528.

(*Macrob. Sat. L. 5. S. 5.*)

But to suppose Homer to have been the author of the Mythology contained in his poems, would be as unreasonable as to imagine that he first taught the Greeks to read and write. When he composed the Iliad, he had sufficient excuse and authority for the fables he introduced, for they were sanctioned by hoary age and venerable tradition.

(4) “ It is not altogether without grounds that several of the Fathers ventured to believe that Plato had some dim conception of the necessity of a Divine Mediator; but whether through some indistinct echo of the patriarchal faith, or some rays reflected from the heathen prophets, or by his own sense of the mysterious contradiction in human nature between the will and the reason, the natural law of conscience, (*Romans, C. 2. V. 14, 15.*) we shall in vain attempt to determine; all these three may have co-operated in partially unveiling these awful truths.” (*Coleridge's Aids to Reflection, P. 27.*)

(5) “ Perciò lo stato di tranquillità e di riposo, che, secondo Platone, era lo *stato medio* fra l' *dolore* e l' *allegrezza*, veniva nelle arti considerato come un *punto fondamentale*.” (*Winkel. Stor. delle Art. T. 1. L. 5. C. 3.*)

(6) The grace denominated Corregesque, originates in this imaginary class of beings — “ essendo propria delle teste di Corregio—il Riso, alquanto affettato—il Volto ha sem-

pre un profilo volgare e compresso, il naso incurvato. Questa Grazia è propria eziandio alle teste del Correggio, onde la *Grazia Correggesca vien detta avendo esse il testè mentovato carattere.*" (*Winkelman, Stor. delle Art. T. 2. L. 8. C. 2. G. 21. Monum. inedit. Tom. 1. Tratt. Prelim. P. 44.*)

(7) " Lo spirito umano ha una, non so quale, innata tendenza e brama di sollevarsi sopra la materia nella sfera spirituale delle idee nuove e immagini di esseri più perfetti." (*Winkel. Stor. delle Art. del disegno, T. 1. L. 5. P. 289.*)

(8) " Non est philosophia *populare artificium* ostentationi paratum; non in verbis, sed rebus est. Nec in hoc adhibetur ut aliquà oblectatione consumatur dies, ut dematur otio nausea. Animum format et fabricat, vitam disponit, actiones regit, agenda et omittenda demonstrat, sedet ad gubernaculum, et per ancipitia fluctuantem dirigit cursum." (*Senec. ep. 16.*)

(9) This gift is to be regarded as totally distinct from instinct, which is a species of mechanical operation, uninfluenced by any motive connected with intellect; but while intuition is admitted, let not the artist overrate its power. Nature gives no man knowledge; it makes no man a geometrician, or an historian; and when images are collected by study and experience, the artist can only assist in combining and supplying them. Raphael himself, however favoured, could impart only what he had learned, and must have increased his ideas like other men by gradual acquisition, and, like them, have become wiser as he grew older. He could represent life better, knew it more, and instructed with more efficacy, as he himself gradually became more amply instructed.

Michael Angelo, at a very late period, was heard to declare, "*Ancora imparo.*"

(10) Adrien Baillet published a very curious work on precocious talent, intitled, "*des Enfants devenus célèbres.*"

(11) Farther, man, while he reflects on the Author of the great powers of nature, may also ask, What is magnetism?—what is voltaism?—what is caloric? Almost as little of them is known as of gravitation; and we can only trace them by their results. We can, indeed, collect and concentrate them, invisible and intangible as they are to our senses; and we have hence some reason for believing them to be distinct substances, rather than mere qualities.

(12) I am well aware of the *existence* of a spirit of opposition in many people to authorities drawn from Scripture, and of the props made use of to support a system framed beforehand, with the vain hope of extricating themselves from difficulties of their own creating; but, by ascending to the sources of real wisdom, we obtain a safer direction, by drawing forth the accordances between reason and revelation. "While the mind of man," says Lord Bacon, "looketh at second causes scattered, it may sometimes rest in them, and go no farther; but when it beholdeth the chain of them confederate and linked together, it must needs fly to Providence, and the Deity, whose prohibitions are the rules of good and evil." (*Essay on Atheism.*) Reflecting on the Cosmogonies above described, it may be truly said, that the creeds of modern philosophists have not been more absurd than those of the ancients, with all the fables and licentious abomination of their theologies; with this difference, however, that many

of the latter believed all they taught, while the former shut their eyes against its demonstration. Such people may inflict a temporary evil, but, by being the means of eliciting truth, they unintentionally confer a *lasting benefit on society*: —without scare-crows we should have no wheat.

(13) I avoid engaging in the details of a question which has long and unsatisfactorily exercised the ingenuity of man. Whenever mental allusions occur in this work, I am, as to general import, willing to shelter myself under the names of Cudworth, Brown, and Arnott.

(14) Were there only atoms and attraction, the whole material creation would rush into close contact, and the universe would be one solid mass; but actual contact between these atoms is prevented by a kind of pore, or open space, left between the corpuscles that approach nearest to each other; but there is caloric, which directly counteracts attraction, and modifies the result. And attraction, in causing atoms to cohere so as to form solid masses, does not act equally all around each atom, but between certain sides or parts of one, and the comprehending parts of the adjoining; so that, when they are allowed to cohere according to their natural tendencies, they, by an extraordinary contrivance, assume certain regular arrangements, which we call chrystallization. They seem to resemble magnets, which attract each other by their poles, each equally true to its respective kind; a fact that has been called polarity of atoms. In this process of created chrystallization, by which common salt, for instance, is observed to assume the shape of a cube, saltpetre that of a six-sided prism, alum that of an octohedron, and so of others, wonderful it is to state, that the power which, with

definite precision, dictates their form, is uninfluenced, and takes no cast from the pores or open spaces above mentioned.

It is a very remarkable fact, as expressed by Plato in his *Timæus*, whence it appears, that he had some conception of the same phenomena. In the character of a cosmogonist, he considers the forms of the constituent parts of matter, and attempts to analyze its modifications. Of the four elements that enter into this substance, he observes, that three are particularly fitted to operate, by the triangular form of their parts, which are volatile, and fluctuating *to operate*; in the fourth, a fixed and solid substance constructed of *cubicle particles*, to which, heat, air, and motion, gave, at the same time, stability and animation.

It is, however, a fact well known to the chemist, that the tendency to produce chrystals in one determinate shape, is *true in general*, but is far from compulsive, being, from causes to us unknown, subject to modifications which impede their geometrical form. If we may pursue the analogy with reference to human beings, God has gifted man with every tendency to virtue, bestowing upon him certain aptitudes, which, if justly followed, lead him to happiness. He, farther, left him *free* to fall; as the perfect formation of the chrystal is often impeded by some peccant mixture, or imperfection; “God hath made man upright, but they have sought out many inventions.” (*Eccles. C. 7. V. 29.*) Bishop Hall says, “Our depravity is from ourselves; our first parents, created in perfect innocence, having followed the devices of their own hearts, and the suggestions of their common enemy, we, their sinful posterity, do nothing but devise further means of our own ruin.”

With a view of more deeply impressing the mind of the reader, who may not have much attended to the subject,

I will, in some degree, recapitulate the contents of the foregoing Note.

Chemistry does for us what the microscope does ; enabling us to see the small objects that are before us at all times, which, without its assistance, we cannot do. A flake of snow viewed in the microscope, is seen to be as distinctly formed as a fern leaf, or a swan's feather.

Chemical science lays open to us a wonderful field of similar affections and affinities in lifeless and inorganic matter. Within the range of its peculiar regions, we behold almost every substance evincing a determinate series, both of inclinations and of antipathies, strongly attracted by one kind of matter, indifferent towards a second, and powerfully avoiding a third. From these extraordinary endowments, proceeds, unquestionably, the union or separation of different bodies, according to the nature of the properties that are called into action ; but their influence, perhaps, in every case, commences before such bodies are in a state of contact, and, in many cases, while they are at a considerable distance from each other ; nor does a single atom seem idle in the economy of nature.

The likes and dislikes we at first sight conceive for certain individuals, are very extraordinary. Is this elective attraction to be accounted for ? The following extravagant extract, (perhaps as what would now be called a hoax,) is inserted by Dr. John Campbell, in his very singular treatise of *Hermippus Redivivus*, (Oct. London, 1744, P. 71.) It is taken from the "*Melanges d'histoire et litterature par M. de Vignuel Marville*, (a fictitious name.) Tom. 2. P. 461. "The author (Marville) possessed a magical microscope, by the extraordinary powers of which, the atoms of Epicurus, the subtile matter of Descartes, the vapours of the earth, those which flow from our own bodies, and such as are derived

to us here from the influence of the stars, might be clearly discovered." Among other experiments, he says, " Going out of the house, we saw four young men playing at ball ; I, at first sight, felt a strong inclination in favour of one, and as strong an aversion against another ; whence I began earnestly to wish that this one might win, and that the other might lose. I examined both with the microscope, and thereby easily distinguished the source of these passions. As the men were extremely heated with their exercise, they perspired strongly, so that the clouds of matter flowing from them reached us. My glass showed me distinctly that the matter perspired by him for whom I had an inclination, was exactly similar to what was perspired by myself ; whereas the matter flowing from the other person was absolutely unlike mine in all respects, and so jagged and bearded, that it seemed to wound me like so many arrows. I discovered that the true cause of our sudden inclinations and aversions, consists in the figures of the matter perspiring from us, and from others, and in the union or contrariety of these insensible vapours."

It is impossible to imagine to what extent the actions and partialities of man are unconsciously influenced by natural propensity. As applied to painting, I was first struck with this idea, on entering the chambers of the Royal Gallery, at Florence, appropriated to the portraits of eminent painters, executed by themselves. Casting my eye over them, I could not help noticing that the heads and traits of countenance of each, respectively, bore resemblance to those which each had portrayed in his historical, or other compositions. On studying the matter farther, and as I made myself more acquainted with the character of each artist individually, I found that the resemblance was not general throughout his works, but was more particularly

restricted to characters bearing affinity to his own ; and that all such heads are impressed with higher marks of skill and talent than the rest. Many of the portraits of Reynolds, are rescripts of himself ; perhaps it was where the subject reflected his own amiable countenance, and was expressive of his own mental excellence.

ON THE CAUSES
WHICH RETARD THE PROGRESS
OF THE
HIGHER DEPARTMENTS OF PAINTING
IN THIS COUNTRY.

It is a mistaken policy, to subject foreign works of genius to such commercial restraints, as shall preclude the importation of them. An interference of this kind has long retarded the advancement of the art of painting in this country, together with all the benefits, whether scientific or pecuniary, attendant on free admission. By an enactment of this kind, the young artist, after having, at much expense, spent several years, and those the best years of his life, on the Continent, for his improvement, cannot bring home a single sketch or cast which he has made for his own studies, (and *he* must have been idle, who did not make many,) without a heavy per centage. The experiment of this prohibitory law has been endured for more than a century; the only relaxation of

which, is the permission to bring home their own studies; and even this is obtained with difficulty.

If custom-house dues, or other national benefits, were contemplated by this enactment, our legislators had to learn, what experience has ascertained, that it is easier to produce ten pieces of manufacture merely, than to execute one which depends for its perfection on mental excellence, and on the development of our higher faculties.

The above prohibition was founded on reasons equally unsatisfactory; “ the *Robaccia* of the Piazza Navona would be sent here by ship loads, and the taste of the country thereby vitiated past recovery; copies of pictures, without number, by Italian artists, would put an end to employment for our own.” In answer to the first objection, I should reply, let it all come; bad as it may be, I never saw any which did not partake of the manner of a superior school or master; and as to the second, our own copiers would be stimulated to emulation; the public would be gradually familiarized with the fine works in painting, now very imperfectly known; new sources of improvement and gratification would be opened; but till perception, that first inlet to knowledge, gains ground, love and admiration are not likely to be established.

Better would it have been for our legislators to consider, that, constituted as society is, if they would promote the love of any thing in the world, it must be through one of the great objects of its adoration—honour, pleasure, or profit. Without these, no merely human enactments will force or even promote the ends proposed, though they may retard and embarrass them.

The next impediment I have to mention originates in the artist. A painter cannot make others feel what he does not feel himself. He who would fix mental impressions on the public, similar to those now alluded to, must qualify himself for the task, by such a preparatory education, that the seeds of talent may be made to vegetate, and rendered productive by discipline and industry. It has been alleged, by many men incompetent to judge on the subject, in depreciation of education, that there are persons of abilities so powerful and commanding, as to soar above established rules, and to become a law to themselves.

That there are some most extraordinary capacities, is not to be denied ; but there is no such thing as an intuitive historian, geometrician, or naturalist ; nor is there any shorter road to the sciences, than that attained by labour and study. Instead of relying on the *inspiration of genius*,

rather let the young candidate place in his view the three greatest masters of modern art, and the means by which they rose to eminence. The classic stores of Leonardo da Vinci, and his skill in the various branches of learning, are well known; and "the late Dr. Hunter gave the strongest testimony to his anatomical knowledge, by declaring his intention to publish a volume, illustrated by the designs of this artist, as anatomical studies." (*Ireland's Hogarth*, V. 2. P. 542.) Michael Angelo was educated by his father for a literary profession; and the talents of Raphael were perfected by incessant care and assiduity; and his decided skill in architecture proves his varied attainments, besides those immediately conducive to his art, as a painter or as a sculptor.

There are those at this time who affect an hostility to our present plan of education; men who, from defective minds, and modes of thinking generated by narrow views and contracted habits, are strangers to that firmness and consistency of temper it is best calculated to impart, and who glean their only wisdom from others, as imperfectly informed as themselves; embarrassed with a little learning, they are enabled only to "hold the eel of science by the tail." They grow presumptuous, because they have not learnt enough to know how little they

have learnt, and how much there is of which they are ignorant. “ *C'est la profonde ignorance qui inspire le ton dogmatique.*” (*La Bruyère.*) These people fancy that for our youth to pass the best of their time in the study of two languages, now spoken in no one country of the world, is with them a justifiable point of attack (1.) Lest others should be seduced by this sophistry, let them be taught that the advantage connected with the study of language is not confined to the acquisition of the particular idiom communicated: its principal benefit is that which arises from the discipline to which the mind is necessarily subjected: and, except where talent is chilled by the stupifying influence of an inefficient teacher, it brings into exercise all its faculties,—memory, judgment, and imagination,—and hence, in its tendency, is eminently calculated to promote intellectual cultivation. It produces mental vigour, and, by infusing a taste for beautiful composition, imparts a relish for what is refined, and communicates the principles of literary criticism. It has also a tendency to excite that general intellectual progress, which is among the principal blessings of our rational nature; to improve the powers of discrimination; to inspire a taste for the exercise of the judgment on subjects of reasoning, and may thus, in a moral point of view,

lead to the investigation of truth as it relates to the principles which direct the conduct, and thus subserve the important purposes of religion. Finally, we may add that the appropriate subject of almost all that is commonly called classical learning, is nothing else than man's moral nature, his passions, his plans of action, their springs and various movements, and every thing wherein humanity or moral speculation is concerned; all that deserves the name of wisdom and religion—all the common sense of life in its most improved state, is drawn from this source, or allied to it: the fruit of other studies is only learning or science. Men may range through the whole compass of nature and art, but their best researches will be those which are most intimately connected with some point of moral character in its most diversified relations.

But, besides the hypercriticism now exposed, the delusion is kept in countenance by that mental disease of the present generation—impatience of study, and an affected contempt of the great masters of ancient wisdom, of whom these defaulters know little but the name—and by a disposition to rely wholly on unassisted genius, and natural sagacity, of which they fancy themselves to be the possessors. They are the artists above alluded to, who would discover a way to fame, which the caution of our laborious

ancestors durst never attempt; and, having extirpated modesty from the list of virtues, they boldly substitute the shadowy suggestions of their own vanity and presumption (2), and find, too late, that celebrity, to spread wide and endure long, must not only be rooted in nature, but must be matured by art (2*). Farther, submission to others, is a deference which we owe, and, indeed, are occasionally forced involuntarily to pay. In fact, we are not satisfied with our own opinions, whatever we may pretend, till they are ratified and confirmed by the suffrages of the more estimable and efficient part of the world; nor does it often happen that those who profess to set the opinions of mankind at defiance, have any claim to its preference or protection.

In advocating the cause of a liberal education, together with the cultivation of gentlemanly deportment (3), to which it is generally allied, it must be allowed, that the want of those endowments betrays the artist's insufficiency, and disqualifies him for success in the nobler departments of his profession; an observation which cannot be better exemplified, than by reference to three justly celebrated moderns.

Hogarth, Morland, and Pinelli, were artists of distinguished talents; and, as candidates for fame, they all addressed themselves to nature :

it was in their every day garb, the only one they had. Attentive to their call, the goddess appeared before them, as they had done before her, without dress or embellishment. These men were correct in delineating such objects of their daily intercourse, as their habits, education, and manners, qualified them for; in these they sought for *ideal excellence*, and succeeded, but they could go no farther.

Hogarth, indeed, more than once forgot his patroness, and she abandoned him. Not content with shining in a path untrodden before, he was ambitious of distinguishing himself as a painter of portraits; and, though the attempt was not successful, yet so unsubdued was his vanity, that he was heard to boast, "allow me my time and choice, and I will produce a portrait equal to Vandyke." He became ambitious, too, of distinguishing himself as a painter of history; but not only did his mode of colouring and drawing render him unequal to the attempt, but the genius that had so feelingly entered into the calamities and crimes of familiar life, deserted him in a walk that called for dignity and grace. The burlesque turn of his mind mixed itself with the most serious subjects. In his *Danae* (4), the old nurse tries a coin of the golden shower with her teeth, to see if it is true gold. He went further; he determined to rival the

ancients, and, unfortunately, chose one of the finest pictures in England as the object of his competition. After many essays, he at last produced his *Sigismonda*; but no more like *Sigismonda*, "than I to Hercules." When we examine this attempt, we find in it no sober grief, no dignity of suppressed anguish, no involuntary tear, no settled meditation on the fate she meant to meet, no amorous warmth, subdued by despair—in short, all was wanting that should have been there—all was there, that such a story would have banished from a mind capable of conceiving such complicated woe—woe so sternly felt, yet so tenderly. Hogarth's performance was more ridiculous than any thing he had ever ridiculed. From these failures may be deduced the useful lesson before cited, that men, even of superlative genius, cannot step beyond those bounds of the attainments with which they are endowed, without betraying a defective judgment, and the hazard of incurring popular ridicule and contempt. Hogarth further exposed his own insufficiency, by inveighing against the works of the finest Italian masters, which he had neither seen nor studied, declaring, that the praises bestowed upon them arose only from the effects of prejudice (5).

Morland, in the prime of life, excelled in

picturesque landscape, though the figures he introduced were of the lowest order; but, in after years, he forsook the cottage, and the woodland scenery, and as his irregularities increased, his subjects assumed a lower cast; they partook of the meanness of his society, for he still painted what he saw; led on, by slow degrees, from one irregularity to another. I will not point out the end of this unfortunate man; nor need we go to Euripides to learn, that "Jupiter first infatuates those whom he marks for destruction." (6)

Bartolomeo Pinelli, whose powers of delineating common and domestic life are displayed in his illustrations of the "*Poema Giocoso*" of Meo, (*Bartolomeo*,) Patacca, in his *Costumi*, but most eminently in the *Briganti* of the Roman and Neapolitan States, in which he is without a rival; like Piranesi (7), qualified himself by familiarization with all he represented; and so earnest was he to obtain an intimate knowledge of the daily habits of the *Briganti*, that he would steal from his family, and even make one in their predatory hordes, for weeks together. His subjects, in no degree objectionable, are relieved from insipidity by being formed into groups, and engaged in some interesting action (8). Familiar as they, however, are, they still retain traces of the successful

efforts of happier days of painting; nor is it an exaggerated acknowledgment to declare, that in no other country do we contemplate what daily presents itself to the delighted traveller in Italy. The Platonists tell us that the ghosts continue to hover over the graves of certain departed beings, each anxious to vivify its own body. The spirits of ancient grandeur still linger in this country, each ready to re-possess his ancient and beloved retreat; did but "a Raphaël paint, and a Vida sing."

Another impediment to the progress of the art, is the love of Caricature: and it is one, which, I am sorry to say, is boasted to have arisen to what is called high perfection among us. Of this indulgence in the personification of slander and vulgarity, I must remark, that the talent of turning men into ridicule, and exposing to laughter those with whom one converses, is the property of little and ungenerous tempers. *That* is ever an unhappy state, in which danger is hidden under pleasure; and a young man, who is allured to this cast of mind, excludes himself from all manner of improvement. Every one has his flaws and weaknesses: nay, the greatest blemishes are often found in the most shining characters; but what an absurd thing is it to pass over all the valuable parts of a man, and fix our attention on his

infirmities; to observe his imperfections more than his virtues; and to make use of him for the sport of others rather than for our improvement! What motives may have led the individual artist to this line, we know not. If from inclination, I pity him—the sting recoils on himself.

Was a Caricaturist ever a happy man?

Blame also attaches to artists, who, while they complain of the want of encouragement, are apt not only to disallow all critical discernment in the public (9), but often to deride what they call *connoisseurship*, even in those whose protection they court. They ought either to moderate this censure, or to be silent till they are made to understand, that, as no man is to be judge and jury in his own cause, he can never duly appreciate his own works: “*Malheur aux productions de l’art, dont toute la beauté n’est que pour les artistes.*” (*D. Alembert Eloge de Montesquieu.*) But, for want of this important lesson, they “set up their own idols in their hearts,” and are angry with others who, like themselves, do not fall down and worship them also. How erroneous is it to censure the public, for not expending their fortune on what artists will not allow them to understand, and from which, of course, they can derive none of that pleasure which meritorious performances are

capable of imparting. Instances, indeed, there may be of a silly vanity in some pretenders to knowledge, who are rich enough to pay for it; and humiliating indeed is the condition of those artists who are obliged to bow with deference to their opinions, and to court their favour; but the truest protectors of art have never been of this number. The amelioration of the taste of the patrons of a country, is perhaps the most important point of all in the consideration of this subject; for where is the utility of striving to improve a school of painting, unless the patrons, and those who are to foster and support that school, are capable of appreciating its improvement? Rather let this important truth, which is founded on the evidence of history, be indelibly impressed on the mind of the young artist who is interested in the honours of his art, that ignorant patrons have always been the contemporaries of inferior artists, who, to the extinction of emulation, if they can but please the age in which they live, and fill their own pockets, will never aim at amendment. Let not the young artist lapse into the common complaint “*want of patronage.*” Patronage alone confers no *permanent* reputation. However depressed by poverty, or dispirited by the want of early encouragement, let him rather cultivate that independence of

mind which sets him above the expectations of foreign support as a bounty ; never forgetting, that, in the happier days of ancient art—" *non erant honores unquam fortuiti muneris* ;" and why was it so ? because it was in a period when the greatest judges qualified themselves for the task ; it was when " Pittagora dipingeva, Platone bene intendeva il disegno, e Socrate, suo maestro, era scultore eziandio di riguardo." (*Diss. di Giuseppe Piacenza.*)

Thus, by reliance on his own exertion, the artist will, in time, find his level—nor has he a right to expect more—and the public, the truest class of patrons, will reward him accordingly.

There are some who assert that our want of success in the higher department of painting, is occasioned by the love of portraits, on which they say (perhaps truly) more has been expended than it ever took to establish the great schools in Italy. These people rest their pretensions on the *superabundant* annual display of portraits at Somerset House, wherein professional skill is not materially improving ;—and we must be permitted to say, that it would be well if the Committee were less influenced by favouritism or pity ; both of which, in the event, are injurious to the art, to the artist, and the royal establishment itself.

It were also to be wished, that artists

would, in their intercourse with each other, abstain from the undue encomiums that they are so apt to lavish on their friends, and from the uncandid and ungenerous strictures which they as unsparingly bestow upon their enemies.

The little contentious jealousies in which many artists are apt to indulge against their fellow artists, to the injury of their own peace and emolument, to the regret of their friends, and the entertainment of the public, are also to be reckoned among the obstacles now enumerated.

Nor may it be amiss here to mention one other cause which tends to check the progress of art in England; namely, the exorbitant prices that artists demand for the portraits they paint; prices all the more strikingly extravagant, as they bear no proportion to the sums given in other countries (10).

But that portrait painting is hostile to the progress of art, cannot be admitted; and the cause why so many artists fail in this department, is their want of proficiency. Nor ought this to be regarded as a subordinate pursuit, since the essentials of history and portrait painting arise from one common origin. The portraits by Raphael rank with his best works.

The picture of an absent relative or friend, helps to keep alive those sentiments which frequently languish by absence: it may be

instrumental to maintain, and sometimes to augment friendship, paternal, filial, and conjugal love and duty. At the sight of a portrait, the character and history of the person it represents flow in upon the mind, and become the subject of conversation; so that to sit for one's picture, is to have an abstract of a life written and published, and ourselves thereby consigned to honour or to infamy. Thus, pictorial representations of this kind are subservient to virtue; for men are excited to imitate the good actions, and persuaded to shun the vices of those whose examples are in this manner set before them: useful hints will be frequently given and frequently improved into practice. And why should we not always believe that, considering the thirst of praise (surely not *always* an infirmity) (11) which seems inherent in the noblest minds, they that see their pictures set up as monuments of good or evil fame, are often secretly admonished by the faithful friend in their own breasts to add new graces to them by praiseworthy actions, and to avoid blemishes, or obliterate the memory of defects as much as possible by future good conduct.

A flattering, mercenary hand may represent my face with a youth or beauty which does not belong to me, and for which I am not the hand-

somer, though I may be a just subject of ridicule for desiring or suffering such flattery : but it is I myself who must lay on the most durable colour ; *my own conduct* gives the boldest strokes of beauty or deformity.

“ To be a good portrait painter, a degree of historical and poetical genius is requisite, and a great measure of the other talents and advantages which a good historical painter must possess. It is not enough to make a tame insipid resemblance of the features, so that every body shall know for whom the picture was intended ; nor even to make the picture what is often said to be ‘ *prodigiously like.*’ A portrait painter must understand mankind, enter into their characters, and *express their minds as well* as their faces ; and, as his business is chiefly with people of condition, he must think as a gentleman, and a man of sense, or it will be impossible for him to give each his true and proper resemblance.” (12) (*Richardson*)

“ How many of the feelings which we should regret most to lose, would be lost but for this delightful art : feelings that ennoble us, by inspiring us with the wish to imitate what was noble in the hero or the sage on whom we gaze (13) ; or that comfort us, by the imaginary presence of those whose affection is the only thing that is dearer to us than even our admiration of hero-

ism and wisdom. After all, the value of portrait painting will best be felt by those who have lost by death a parent or much loved friend, and who feel that they would not have lost every thing if some pictured memorial had still remained." (*Browne.*)

Then for a beam of joy, to light
 In memory's sad and wakeful eye :
 Or banish from the noon of night,
 Her dreams of deeper agony.

Shall song its witching cadence roll ?
 Yea ! e'en the tenderest air repeat,
 That breath'd when soul was knit to soul,
 And heart to heart responsive beat.

What visions wake—to charm—to melt ?
 The lost, the lov'd, the dead are near,
 O hush that strain, too deeply felt !
 And cease that solace, too severe.

But thou, serenely silent art !
 By Heaven and Love wast taught to lend
 A milder solace to the heart,
 The sacred image of a friend.

No spectre forms of pleasure fled,
 Thy softening, sweetening tints restore ;
 For thou canst give us back the dead,
 E'en in the loveliest looks they wore.

(*Campbell.*)

NOTES.

(1) I do not pretend that a knowledge of them is essential in the education of a painter; but those who are proficient, can tell that English versions from them resemble a piece of tapestry seen on the wrong side, on which the subject alone is visible.

(2) This idle practice has served to promote that style which is called *painting for effect*; and neglect in finishing what those people deem subordinate representation. In ancient sculpture, as in the works of Michael Angelo, and of Raphael, and in the works of our best modern artists, such as of Flaxman, and Canova, all the minor parts are elaborately finished.

"(2*) "Wherever the man shall arise, who, from intense and vigorous application, is fundamentally skilled in the various parts of this very extensive art, possessing also the additional advantage of a cultivated and capacious mind, enriched with those treasures from the superior sciences, that alone can invigorate and give extension and value to the art; if, further, he shall, from moderation and self-denial, and estrangement from the vanities and impertinence of life, be enabled to employ his whole time and attention in this way, every thing will be possible to him." (*Barry.*)

Such a union of qualities centered in my lamented *Flaxman*! —a friend whose stores of mind in the confidential intercourse of thirty-four years, were, to me, unfathomable.

(3) "It is impossible for those who devote themselves to common vulgar subjects, to conceive noble and generous sentiments, or to produce a work worthy of permanent admiration, and the gratitude of posterity." (*Demosth. Olynth. 3. P. 27. Edit. Morel.*) The first time I was at Rome, I made the acquaintance of an elderly gentleman, who knew Sir J. Reynolds, when he resided there. He said, such was the "*Tratto nobile*" of his demeanour, that he was styled, "*il cavalieresco Pittore.*" In Hogarth, on the contrary, having rarely been admitted into polite circles, or cultivated polished manners, none of his asperities had been rubbed off, so that he continued to the last a gross, uncultivated man. "The slightest contradiction transported him into a rage. To be member of a club, consisting of mechanics, or those not many removes above them, seems to have been the summit of his social ambition; but even in these societies, he was oftener sent to coventry for misbehaviour, than any other person who frequented them." (*Nichol's Life, P. 87.*)

The following avowal of national inferiority in painting of a noble character, requires no comment. The Teylerian Society, at Haerlem, has proposed a question, prize 400 florins, to the following purport; "What is the reason that the Dutch School of painting, even in the time of its greatest splendour, and also at this time, has produced so small a number of capital masters in the historic branch of painting, whilst it has constantly excelled in whatever relates to simple nature, and the customary scenes of life?" (*St. James's Chronicle, June 9, 1829.*)

(4) A. Caracci was not proof against the impulses of comic fancy. In his Danae, Cupid, forgetting his profession, has emptied his quiver to fill it with the precious metal.

The singularities and weaknesses of distinguished men,

often furnish what is called “ *a good story*.” Hogarth, while employed on his *Danae*, a performance which, in his mind, equalled those of the founder of the Venetian School, speaking to himself, was overheard to say, in a pitying tone, “ poor Tit ! how he would stare ! ” Individual vanity will be found every where ; it is not, perhaps, with us a *national* defect. Our Gallic neighbours have not blushed to find a parallel between their own more celebrated painters, to the number of twenty-six, with as many of the most distinguished in Italy. (*Risposta alle Reflessioni Critiche, &c. &c. del Sig. Marchese D' Argens. Lucca, 1755.*)

(5) “ Hogarth had one failing in common with most people who attain to wealth and eminence, without the aid of a liberal education. He affected to despise every kind of knowledge which he did not possess ; and having established his fame with little or no obligations to literature, he either conceived it to be needless, or decried it because it lay out of his reach. Till this celebrated artist commenced author, he did not seem to have discovered that even spelling was a necessary qualification, though he had ventured in one of his pieces to ridicule the deficiency of Rich in that particular.” (*Nichol's Life, P. 49.*)

(6) Οταν δε Δαιμων ανδρι πορσυνη κακα
Τον νουν εβλαψε πρωτον.

Fragment preserved by Athenagoras, from one of his lost tragedies. (*Refer to Beck's Euripides.*)

Though we know “ *there is no new thing under the sun,* ” it is yet gratifying to trace the ideas of men on the same subjects, in the different ages and countries. Long before the days of Euripides, an insolent fellow threw a stone at Æsop :—“ Thank you, friend,” said Æsop ; “ here is a

penny for you ; I have no more money myself, but I will put you in the way of getting more from another. Do but throw a stone at that rich man yonder, and he will reward you more handsomely." The fellow did as he was directed, and Æsop had the pleasure of seeing him put into the stocks for his audaciousness. (*Fab.* 194.) It is farther awfully amplified by a later writer. " *Consuēsse enim Deos immortales, quò gravius homines ex commutatione rerum doleant, quos pro scelere eorum ulcisci velint, his secundiones interdum res, et diuturniorem impunitatem concedere.*" (*Cæs. Com. L. 1.*)

(7) Equally did Giovanni Battista Piranesi evince the most powerful devotion to his art, to which the extraordinary effect he produced in his works were greatly owing. He would sit, lie, or wander near the edifice, or ruin he was about to delineate, by the day together, till, by shifting the ground, he found a happy position, or favourable gleam of light upon it.

(8) In composition, he equals Carlo Maratti, being the only remaining excellence that painter possessed in common with the great masters that lived before him.

(9) The liberal-minded Richardson cultivated a different feeling. " A gentleman may, in most things, judge of a picture altogether, as well as a painter, or awaken some useful hints in some of his own profession." (*Essay on the Theory of Painting, P. 13.*)

(10) In Italy, for instance, the prices given for portraits, are not one quarter so high as those demanded here. I have, within the last twelvemonth, seen the portrait of a friend, executed by Hoffmann, at Rome. It is what is

termed a three quarter's length, as large as life, and having both hands visible; and it was painted at six different sittings, each of which lasted three hours. Being near me, I can bear testimony as to its merit, and to the diligence and fidelity of its execution. The frugal charge of the artist I will not mention. The price of Camucini, the Lawrence of Rome, is fifty pounds.

- (11) Fame is the spur that the clear spirit doth raise
 (That last infirmity of noble minds,)

To scorn delights, and live laborious days;

But the fair guerdon when we hope to find,

And think to burst out into sudden blaze,

Comes the blind Fury with th' abhorred shears,

And slits the thin-spun life; "but not the praise,"

Phœbus replied, and touched my trembling ears;

"Fame is no plant that grows on mortal soil,

"Nor in the glistening foil

"Set off to th' world, nor in broad rumour lies,

"But lives and spreads aloft by those pure eyes,

"A perfect witness of all-judging Jove,

"As he pronounces lastly on each deed,

"Of so much fame in heav'n expect thy meed!"

 (Lycidas, Line 70.)

(12) Nor does this advice refer to the painter only, but more or less influences every branch of literary composition. In no class of writers is the want of it more obvious than in novelists, who undertake to describe the manners of polished life, without ever having been actually conversant with them; a defect which made a French nobleman good-humouredly exclaim of some of them, "*Ces Cognino nous font agir et parler comme ils feroient eux-mêmes, s'ils étoient dans notre place.*"

(18) Sæpè andivi Q. Maximum, P. Scipionem, præterea civitatis nostræ præclaros viros solitos ita dicere, *Cum Majorum imagines intuerentur, vehementissimè sibi animum ad virtutem accendi.* (*Sallus. Bel. Jugurth. C. 4. P. 59.*)



